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NOTES AND NEWS

THIS year the Faculty of Theology of Manchester University celebrates its fiftieth anniversary. We welcome this opportunity of offering our congratulations and our best wishes for its future. At our request Professor T. W. Manson, Rylands Professor of Biblical Criticism and Exegesis in the University and for many years Dean of the Faculty, has kindly contributed a note on its development and work during those fruitful years.

THE
ANNIVERSARY
OF THE
FACULTY OF
THEOLOGY,
MANCHESTER
UNIVERSITY.

"1954 sees the completion of the first fifty years of the life of the Faculty of Theology in Manchester University. Its foundation was not achieved without considerable hesitations and some opposition, but it had strong and enthusiastic supporters from the outset and it was greatly helped by the benefactions of Mrs. Rylands, who founded the Rylands Chair of Biblical Criticism and Exegesis and during her lifetime contributed generously to the maintenance of the professorship of Comparative Religion.

"The work of the Faculty has always been shared between the University and the Theological Colleges and the co-operation has been both happy and fruitful. In the past the Colleges have supplied the bulk of the students and not a few of the Faculty's most eminent teachers. In recent years there has been considerable expansion of the teaching staff on the University side and this has been of great advantage to the Colleges.

"When the Faculty first began, its main teaching function was the preparation of candidates for the ministry of the various denominations. In recent years a new function has been added

through the new importance given to the teaching of Religious Knowledge in the schools. A fair number of students are now taking theological courses with a view to becoming Scripture specialists in the schools of the country.

"Another interesting and encouraging feature of the work is the number of students, including both our own graduates and graduates from abroad, who come to work for higher degrees by research.

"At the beginning of its second fifty years the Faculty finds itself more completely equipped than at any time in its history and with growing demands upon its resources. It has now ample means and opportunity to do further good work in the years ahead."

In connection with the anniversary three special lectures were delivered in the University Building. On 3 February the Rev. Canon L. W. Grensted, formerly Nolloth Professor of the Philosophy of the Christian Religion at Oxford, dealt with "The Changing Background of Theological Studies". On 16 March the Rev. L. E. Browne, Professor of Theology in the University of Leeds, spoke on "The Value of the Comparative Study of Religions", and on 28 April Professor C. H. Dodd, formerly Rylands Professor of Biblical Criticism and Exegesis at Manchester and Norris-Hulse Professor of Divinity at Cambridge, discussed "The Dialogue-Form in the Gospels". We have pleasure in printing the text of all three lectures below. After their appearance in the pages of the BULLETIN they will be reprinted together and issued as a separate volume, with an introduction by Professor Manson.

With the generous aid of the Pilgrim Trust, the Friends of the National Libraries and private donations the Library has been able to acquire a collection of ^{THE GASTER MSS.} Hebrew and Samaritan manuscripts assembled by the late Dr. Moses Gaster. This is the most important collection of manuscripts to come to the Library for many years.

Dr. Moses Gaster, Rumanian by birth, was forced to leave Rumania in 1885 as a victim of persecution and took refuge in

England. He became Chief Rabbi (Hakham) of the Sephardic Communities of British Jews in 1886, and continued in that office till he retired in 1919. He was, too, for a period (1890-6) head of the Montefiore College, Ramsgate. A distinguished scholar with a long list of publications to his name, his interests ranged from the Hebrew prayer book, the minutiae of Hebrew text study, and apocryphal Hebrew literature to Jewish amulets and Rumanian folklore. He made a special study of the Samaritans and became a recognized authority on their language and literature.

One of the great interests of Dr. Gaster's life was the collection of manuscripts. Although the age-long hostility between Jew and Samaritan has persisted into ^{SAMARITAN.} modern times, Dr. Gaster visited Nablus, the headquarters of this tiny but intensely fanatical community, and induced them to part with manuscripts covering the whole range of their literature. Where he could not secure the originals he had copies made for him by Samaritan priests. In consequence, in his collection of Samaritan manuscripts, to the number of over 300, every phase of their literature is represented. Materials for a complete study of the Samaritan religion and its beliefs and practices are here to be found. Several manuscripts are unique and many more very rare. The codices of the Pentateuch are particularly fine, being written in a clear beautiful hand. In addition to complete texts there are portions of early Pentateuchs of great interest. Bi-glot (Samaritan-Hebrew and Arabic) and even tri-glot (Samaritan-Hebrew, Samaritan-Aramaic and Arabic) are included, all usually written in Samaritan characters. In addition to a complete range of liturgical texts, there are varying forms of the Samaritan Targum (Aramaic translation) and in one manuscript two differing Targums are given. The collection includes a considerable number of astronomical tables and data used in the compilation of the calendar, as well as prayers and hymns for all occasions, chronicles, commentaries, genealogies and lists of patriarchs and high priests, polemical, mystical, and hermeneutical treatises in Samaritan-Hebrew or Arabic, formularies, letters, marriage contracts and divorces, amulets, etc.

The manuscripts are in general beautifully written, amongst them being a very fine copy of the *Kitāb al-Tabbākh* (the Book of the Cook), a famous Samaritan theological manual dealing with a variety of subjects of ritual, polemical, exegetical and medical interest. There are many other texts of miscellaneous content.

The John Rylands Library had already in its possession a small but valuable group of Samaritan manuscripts which came to it with the Crawford Collection. With the extensive and important addition of the Gaster manuscripts it now has a Samaritan collection of outstanding importance.

In the Hebrew section of some 350 manuscripts there is an equally wide range of interest. The manuscripts are drawn from a very wide area, a feature being the HEBREW. considerable number emanating from Yemen. But Spain, France, Germany, Belgium, Poland, Rumania, Italy (Corfu) and Morocco are also represented. Amongst the manuscripts are sixteen scrolls (one on gazelle skin), all finely written. Thirteen are scrolls of the Law, and most of them are from Yemen or Morocco. The prayer-books of many Jewish communities, apocryphal writings, commentaries, treatises, letters, marriage contracts (the earliest, 1663), divorces, piyyuṭim (hymns added to the service on special occasions), letters, etc., etc., are included. One interesting item is a collection of eighteen volumes of varying size containing autographs, or copies, from the writings, speeches, sermons, etc., of prominent representatives of Hasidism (a pietistic movement with great influence on Jewry), all dating from its early days and all apparently hitherto unpublished.

But whilst the Hebrew scholar will find much of interest in the collection as a whole, the real treasure for him lies in the Cairo Genizah fragments which Dr. Gaster was far-seeing enough to purchase towards the end of last century when they were available. The genizah was a repository attached to a synagogue in which cast-off volumes and documents were deposited. The Jews feared the profanation involved in the destruction of any writings which might contain the name of God, and would not in

consequence destroy them. The most famous Genizah is that of the very ancient Synagogue of Elijah in Old Cairo. Its accumulated contents, after vicissitudes of fortune which reduced them largely to fragmentary form, were rescued, brought to Europe towards the end of last century and found their way into great Libraries there as well as in America. The best known collection of Genizah fragments is the extensive Taylor-Shechter collection in Cambridge University Library, which has yielded and continues to yield so much of value to Hebrew scholars. With the Gaster collection has come to the Rylands Library a new mass of Genizah fragments from which much can also be expected. The acquisition of the Gaster Hebrew and Samaritan manuscripts has strengthened greatly the Library's holdings in departments which were relatively weak.

In addition to the Hebrew and Samaritan manuscripts which were acquired by purchase, the Library has received from the Gaster family a generous donation of a MISCELLANEOUS further 123 codices from the collection brought together by the late Dr. Gaster. These, which form the remaining portion of his manuscripts, are varied both in date and in content. They include volumes in some nineteen different languages, Western and Near Eastern, of which the most fully represented are Arabic, Greek and English; among other language groups which occur are Latin, German, Flemish, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, Rumanian, Bulgarian, Persian, Turkish and Ethiopic. As might be expected, a considerable number of items relate to the Jews and their history, but Dr. Gaster's interests were wide and it is hardly possible in a brief note fully to indicate the scope of this donation. The Arabic manuscripts, twenty in number, are mainly theological and grammatical in nature; they include several copies of the Kūr'ān, of which two of the finest are from Morocco. Among the twenty-eight Greek codices are service books (four with musical notation), philosophical, theological and medical works, and collections of miscellaneous treatises of various dates. The English group consists for the most part of translations, mainly from Spanish and Portuguese works dealing

with Jewish history. The German group contains a description, in seven volumes, of a Jewish colony in Samaria. Of the two Persian manuscripts one is an astronomical treatise (sixteenth-seventeenth century), the other a beautifully written version of *Kalilah wa-Dimnah*. A number of Slavonic and Ethiopic service books also occur, while the solitary Latin manuscript is a well executed fifteenth-century vellum scroll containing the biblical history variously attributed to Peter Comestor or Peter of Poitiers.

In May of last year the Library received from Viscountess Ashbrook of Arley Hall, Cheshire, a valuable deposit of some 12,000 documents from the Warburton Muniments. A brief account of this accession was printed in a previous number of the BULLETIN (vol. 36, no. 1, September 1953). Two further important additions have since been made by Viscountess Ashbrook to her family muniments. The first comprises some 800 items dating from the twelfth to the eighteenth century and includes the Arley Charters, a collection notable among the records of old Cheshire families. The Arley Charters consist of muniments of title relating to the Dutton and Warburton families and county Chester, a smaller group of Yorkshire documents, mainly concerning Beverley, and a number of early wills, appointments and receipts of various members of the Warburton family. They are particularly rich in fine twelfth and thirteenth century documents. The earliest, which may be assigned to about 1170, concern the Duttons, from a branch of whose family the Warburtons are descended, Peter de Dutton having assumed the name of Warburton about 1300. In addition to the early deeds, some of which are monastic, the collection is of value for its seals, among them being twelfth-century seals of Constables of Chester, seals of the Prior and Convent of Norton, and a Statute Merchant Recognizance Seal of Chester of 1359. The second addition made by Viscountess Ashbrook consists of well over 500 records of various kinds relating to the navigation of the River Weaver, acknowledged to be the largest collection on this

subject in private hands. The bulk consists of correspondence of Sir Peter Warburton in the 1750s and 1760s, but also included are accounts of the Winsford salt works, barges and wharves from 1734 to 1752, copies of the Minutes of the Navigation Commissioners and Trustees from 1757 to 1761 and from 1765 to 1766, and printed Acts of Parliament and pamphlets relating to the Weaver. The whole collection forms a most welcome and valuable addition to the already extensive materials housed in the Library's Charter Rooms.

During the first six months of 1954 the major part of the book-fund has been used for the purchase of modern books required to keep the Library's collections up-to-date. The surplus available for rare books has been small but it has been possible to add a number of English seventeenth-century imprints. The only *STC* item (no. 20344) is "*Castigatio Civisdam Circvlarioris*", by Bishop Prideaux, printed at Oxford by John Barnes in 1614, but about twenty books printed between 1641 and 1700 have been acquired. Among the more interesting are Creech's translation of "*The idylliums of Theocritus*", 1684 (Wing T 855); Citri de La Guette, "*History of the triumvirate. Translated by Thomas Otway*", 1686 (C 4345); Jean Dumont, baron de Carlsroon, "*A new voyage to the Levant*", 1696 (D 2526); and Robert Hall (a pseudonym of Peter Heylyn). "*ἩΡΩΟΛΟΓΙΑ Anglorum*", 1641 (H 1713). Additions to our collection of seventeenth-century theologians include Jeremy Taylor, "*Opuscula*", 1678 (T 356), and Anthony Horneck, "*The great law of consideration*", 1677 (H 2833), a work so popular that eleven editions were issued within fifty years. Horneck, a German protestant who settled in England at the age of twenty-four, speedily gained a considerable reputation, and, as preacher at the Savoy, his sermons drew such congregations that it was said "his parish extended from Whitechapel to Whitehall".

An important addition has been made to the Library's collection of Quaker literature, already considerable. This consists of sixty-one volumes which formed part of the library

PRINTED
BOOKS:
ACQUISITIONS BY
PURCHASE.

of Quaker literature belonging to Mr. E. Mitford Abraham at Swarthmoor Hall, near Ulverston, formerly the home of Margaret Fell, who became the wife of George Fox. Mr. Abraham, a descendant of Margaret Fell, has recently disposed of the Hall to the Society of Friends, and has, in consequence, broken up his library. Among the books which the Library was able to purchase are a number of items important in the history of Quakerism. To George Fox's "Journal, vol. 1", which came to the Library by gift many years ago, has now been added the second volume, which contains "The Epistles", printed in 1692 (Wing F 1764). Among works of other famous seventeenth-century Quakers may be mentioned "The memorable works of George Burroughs", 1672 (Wing B 5980), Francis Howgill, "The dawning of the gospel-day", 1676 (Wing H 3157), and Richard Hubberthorn, "The immediate call to the ministry", 1654 (Wing H 3225). The remainder of the group includes many biographical works relating to outstanding Quakers of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries both in this country and in the United States.

The great outpouring from the press of this country in the mid-seventeenth century both in the Royalist cause and in that of its opponents is well known, and the Library possesses a fine collection of Civil War Tracts, which was considerably strengthened, some years ago, by the deposit here by the Earl of Crawford of the English pamphlets from the Bibliotheca Lindesiana. It is not surprising that the analogous political situation in France at the same period resulted in a parallel use of the press. The repressive policy of the Queen Regent and her adviser, Cardinal Mazarin, first against members of the Parlement de Paris and later against certain great nobles, led to the Civil wars known as the Fronde, in which both sides made great use of the political pamphlet to further their ends. To these tracts, frequently scurrilous, was given the name of "Mazarinades", and Charles Moreau, who compiled a bibliography of the subject extending to three volumes, lists some 4,500 items. From a Parisian bookseller the Library has recently acquired a collection, formed in the seventeenth century, of political pamphlets published in France between 1649 and

1660. It consists of 1,136 separate items, bound shortly after their appearance in fourteen volumes and lettered "Pièces du temps". The later volumes include a number of rare official documents, but for the most part the contents belong to the class of "Mazarinades". It will be seen, therefore, that the collection contains nearly a quarter of all the tracts of this kind known, and includes many described by Moreau as "rare", "très rare" and "rarissime", as well as over twenty which were unknown to him. On France, in its troubled state, the execution of Charles I naturally made a deep impression, and many tracts deal with that subject and with other aspects of the political situation in England. One, "Avis à la Reyne d'Angleterre et à la France", is described by Moreau as "Pamphlet le plus audacieux de la Fronde". An interesting feature of the collection is a large number of portraits of political figures of the time which the seventeenth century collector has inserted. These pamphlets, dealing with every phase of politics during the Fronde, form invaluable material for the student of French history of the period.

Another interesting acquisition is a group of Scottish chap-books which strengthens considerably the Library's collection of literature of this type, hitherto somewhat meagre. It consists of 213 items, bound in three volumes, brought together by Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe, antiquary and authority on Scottish ballad literature, who was contemporary with the hawkers who peddled these books around the countryside. They were all produced in the early years of the last century, and although many were, as might be expected, printed in Edinburgh and Glasgow, the majority were the work of presses in Stirling, Falkirk and Kilmarnock. All are in verse and most consist of eight pages only, but some are anthologies running to sixty pages or more designed to sell for a copper or two, of which "The Nightingale, a collection of choice songs, from Burns, Ramsay, &c.", Falkirk, [18--], is typical. The contents of the smaller publications range from the crudest popular verse to the finest lyrics of Burns. One contains a collection of poems on Robin Hood, others the stories of famous battles such as Preston Pans and Colines, while the last item of a collection of "Humorous poems", Glasgow, 1821,

is "The Battle of Blenheim". Since chapbooks were intended to appeal to the popular market it is interesting to see how large a proportion of them contained poetry of a high standard.

The Library continues to benefit greatly from the generosity of individuals and institutions at home and abroad. Among the more considerable gifts received from institutions may be mentioned those of the Trustees of the British Museum, the National Register of Archives, the Istituto Italiano per gli Studi Storici, the Academy of Sciences, Leningrad, and the Universities of Beirut, Copenhagen, Edinburgh and Louvain. Personal gifts include many books of interest, notably "The history of the city and state of Geneva . . . By Isaac Spon", 1687 (Wing S 5017), among books from Mr. Edmund G. L. Mosley; important local items from Mr. W. E. Mason, the City Treasurer of Manchester, and from Mrs. I. Ross; and, from Mrs. Estelle Doheny, a finely produced catalogue of an exhibition of her collection of rare Bibles, now housed in St. John's Seminary, Camarillo, California. To Dr. Francis Neilson the Library is again indebted for author's copies of his own work, and to Señor E. Carlos de Hostos for editions of the works of his father. An interesting and unusual volume presented, in memory of his sister Pauline Rosenberg, by Mr. Mitchell Wansker, is "The Story of the Creation, in Hebrew", with illustrations by the well-known contemporary artist, Alva, produced by the method of printing through silk known as serigraph, in a limited edition of sixty copies.

GIFTS OF
PRINTED
BOOKS.

In March two collections of great importance were added to the Library by the bequest of the late Mr. Charles F. Sixsmith of Adlington, near Chorley, of his books by and relating to Walt Whitman and Edward Carpenter. Mr. Sixsmith, as a young man, joined the group of Bolton enthusiasts who recognised the importance of Whitman as a poet and thinker, and throughout his life he devoted much care and thought to the development of his collection of Whitmaniana. Among the fifty-seven editions of works by Whitman in his possession were twenty-two editions of "Leaves of grass", including a copy of the first edition

(second impression), published in Brooklyn in 1855. Other first editions in the collection are "Democratic vistas", Washington, 1871, in its original green paper wrappers, and "After all, not to create only", Boston, 1871. Of the 100 works on Whitman some are in limited editions, while others are presentation copies from the authors to Charles Sixsmith himself, to Mrs. Sixsmith, or to Edward Carpenter. The bequest, which also contains a large collection of newspaper cuttings, will be of the greatest value to every student of the poet.

Sixsmith's friendship with Edward Carpenter extended over many years and his interest in his work resulted in the formation of a fine collection. There are seventy editions of works by Carpenter, sixteen of which are signed copies presented to Sixsmith or to Mrs. Sixsmith. The number of books on Carpenter is not large, but a group of works by Henry S. Salt and other associates of the philosopher forms an interesting pendant to the collection. Sixsmith destroyed nothing which came his way relating to his friend and many hundreds of cuttings from newspapers and periodicals form a valuable part of the material under review. They include not only critical articles, reviews of his books, reports of his lectures and obituary notices, but also cuttings of many of his poems and addresses which first appeared in this form. It is probable that no finer collection exists outside Sheffield City Libraries, where Carpenter's own papers and books are preserved.

In the previous number of the BULLETIN (vol. 36, no. 2, March 1954), Mr. A. R. Myers, Lecturer in ^{SOME} Medieval History in the University of Liverpool, ^{HOUSEHOLD} edited certain provisions, hitherto unpublished, for ^{ORDINANCES} regulating the household of King Henry VI. ^{OF HENRY VI.} The copy which he printed was discovered among the Burghley Papers in the British Museum and appeared to be the only one which had survived. Earlier evidence of these same ordinances has since come to light and we are indebted to Mr. Myers for the following note drawing attention to it :

"The household ordinances of Henry VI printed in the preceding number of this BULLETIN were discovered in the

Elizabethan copy now contained in Lansdowne MS. 1. When the article was already in the press Mr. H. C. Johnson of the Public Record Office kindly drew my attention to some household ordinances of Henry VI to be found in Chancery Miscellanea 3/36. On inspection this document proved to be an incomplete version, if not of the original, at least of a contemporary copy of these ordinances of 23 Henry VI. It is now in a fragmentary state. Only four membranes of the roll are left, the opening and concluding ones having been lost, and the writing of what remains has in many places had to be revived by chemicals. Enough still exists, however, to show the very dependable character of the copy in Lansdowne MS. 1. The Chancery Miscellanea 3/36 copy starts, in its present incomplete state, with the sentence 'Also that the marshall of the halle suffre no lord ne other persone . . .' which in the Lansdowne MS. copy begins the fourth paragraph. The Chancery Miscellanea 3/36 copy ends with the sentence which in the Lansdowne MS. version concludes the narrative part of the ordinances ('And if any officer abouesaid . . . kynges hous foreuer'), thus omitting all the lists of personnel entitled to bouche of court.

"The extant parts of the fifteenth century copy correspond closely to the corresponding paragraphs in Lansdowne MS. 1, except for minor variations of spelling. The only important difference is the order of five paragraphs. All those which appear on fol. 88a of Lansdowne MS. 1 (*ante*, vol. 36, pp. 458-9) except the first (which begins 'Also, that all the huntys . . .') are placed earlier, in the same order, in the fifteenth century version, after the paragraph 'Also, that no lord, knyght, ne squier, ne noon othir persone . . . there good rule and abylyte'. But this does not seem to be a discrepancy of any significance, for in Chancery Miscellanea 3/36 these five paragraphs are written on a separate membrane, shorter than the others; and it looks as though the difference in order may well be due simply to the repair of the document. In the course of centuries the membranes have come apart, and some of them have been lost. When the document reached the care of the Public Record Office and the staff came to fasten together the four membranes which remained, there was nothing in the text

to show what the order should be ; and it looks as though the membrane with the five paragraphs in question was inserted at the wrong place.

" On the dorse of Chancery Miscellanea 3/36 are the words ' Peticio parliamenti a^o 23 H. VI ' ; and though these are written in a later hand, they give additional weight to the view (*ante*, vol. 36, pp. 449-50) that these ordinances belong to the year 1445 and not to 1458. The evidence of Chancery Miscellanea 3/36, therefore, not only supports the authenticity of the ordinances and confirms the accuracy of the Lansdowne MS. 1 version but also clarifies their date."

Among the Althorp collection which the Library acquired from Earl Spencer in 1892 was a fourth edition (1793) of " The Plays of William Shakespeare in Fifteen Volumes " by Dr. Johnson and George Steevens, the Shakespeare commentator. This set has an additional value in that it belonged to Steevens himself who, " in compliance with the modern custom of decorating a single work at the expence of many others ", enriched it by the insertion of some thousands of engravings, many of considerable rarity. During a recent examination of these, the Rev. W. M. Merchant of University College, Cardiff, who is making a special study of Shakespeare illustration, discovered a *Coriolanus* plate of particular interest, together with a note by Steevens relating to it. In the account which follows Mr. Merchant discusses this plate and Steevens' comments on it.

A POUSSIN
" CORIO-
LANUS " IN
ROWE'S 1709
SHAKE-
SPEARE.

" In 1766 George Steevens published a collection of Shakespeare quartos, followed in 1773 by a complete Shakespeare with notes by Samuel Johnson. This ten-volume edition was reissued in 1793 and the John Rylands Library possesses Steevens's own grangerized set in which there are notes in his hand on blank pages in the first volume. They contain the pleasant effrontery of some derogatory comments on grangerized copies but in addition they have brief judgments of the utmost importance in the history of Shakespeare illustration. Steevens had decided

to select his extra-illustrated material exclusively from portraiture, but he makes one exception :

From the following series of Plates, all ideal and theatrical representations were meant to be excluded. The cuts, however, to Rowe's edition of Shakespeare are here introduced, as they are the first efforts of the pencil towards the ornament of our Author, & serve at least to ascertain the mode in which the characters were dressed about the year 1709 ; for by such of his plays as were then on the stage, it is clear that the draughtsman conducted his designs for all the rest. A single departure from this practice may be observed ; as the frontispiece to the third scene of the fifth act of *Coriolanus* is unsuitable to that drama, being a mere copy of some engraving from the well-known picture of *Nicholas Poussin* on the same subject differently treated.

To many points in this note we must return, but first a disputable statement in the succeeding note needs examination :

The plates were both designed and executed by Edward Kirkall. . . . He appears to have been constantly employed by the Tonsons, and to have entertained no higher ideas of *Macbeth* and *Hamlet* than he had caught from their usual representatives, Messieurs Mills and Wilks. The original of her Danish Majesty will be found in any common portrait of Queen Anne.

This has some errors ; the artist's name was Elisha, and not Edward, Kirkall, though in this error Steevens is in the company of Horace Walpole and Redgrave. It is true that he was employed by Tonson for some years, but the plates in the Shakespeare of 1709 are unsigned, with the exception of the frontispiece by Van der Gucht ; and the President of Magdalen College, Oxford, has shown that probably only some nine of the plates are by Kirkall¹ though the *Coriolanus* may be added to the list. That Kirkall used a Poussin composition without acknowledgement is not surprising, for he was one of the earliest to pirate Hogarth's engravings and this *Coriolanus* is a quite skilful adaptation. Poussin had used the story of Coriolanus in two studies : one is a drawing of a battle scene, now in the Royal Library at Windsor (no. 11891) ; the more important, from which Kirkall's frontispiece is taken, is at the Musée Poussin at Les Andelys² and (a basis for Steevens's supposition that

¹ T. S. R. Boase, "Illustration of Shakespeare's Plays in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries" in *The Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, x (1947), 83-108, the most important single contribution to the history of Shakespeare illustration.

² I have not been able to examine the original but through the courtesy of the curator of the Musée Poussin I have been able to compare the Kirkall with an excellent photograph.

Kirkall followed 'some engraving'), it was reproduced three times, by Audran, Baudet and Picart.¹

"Steevens condemns this frontispiece as unsuitable to illustrate the play's fifth act; indeed, Poussin's interpretation is radically different from Shakespeare's and Kirkall follows the former. Poussin's treatment of this subject, from his later period, after his return to Rome in 1642, fulfils Professor Blunt's description of the religious subjects of his last two decades as 'those which admit of more dramatic or psychological interpretation'. Of the classical pictures, including *Coriolanus*, he says: 'In all these he expounds moral themes in accordance with Stoical philosophy, all variations on the central problem of the victory of the will over the passions.'²

"In this painting *Coriolanus* is about to sheathe his sword in response to the appeal of his mother, his wife and son, and the Roman women. Poussin has united the varied emotional appeal of the women, who stand and kneel in a close oval group, with the succeeding tension of *Coriolanus*'s tragic decision, which at this complex moment appears an act of piety. This corresponds to Plutarch's words, which Shakespeare renders:

You have wonne a happy Victory to Rome.
But for your Sonne, beleeve it: Oh beleeve it,
Most dangerously you have with him prevail'd,
If not most mortall to him.

In fact, however, Shakespeare's emphasis in these scenes differs from Poussin's and a hint of the difference is found in North's Plutarch. Half way through the women's pleading, *Coriolanus* speaks to his mother:

CORIO. : . . . I have sate too long.
VOLUM. : Nay, go not from us thus.

¹ John Smith, *A Catalogue Raisonné of . . . the most Eminent Dutch, Flemish and French Painters*, 1837, part 8, p. 173. The Picart engraving only is in the Brit. Mus. Print Room; it is inscribed: "N. Poussin pinx. B. Picart sculp. direxit 1720". It was thus engraved eleven years after Kirkall's frontispiece and is a far more competent work.

² Anthony Blunt, *Art and Architecture in France, 1500-1700*, Penguin History of Art, 1953, p. 189.

In the next scene (Act V. sc. iv) Menenius comments on Coriolanus's temper :

He sits in his State as a thing made for *Alexander*. What he bids bee done, is finisht with his bidding. He wants nothing of a God but Eternity, and a Heaven to Throne in.

The suggestion for this is found in North's passage :

For at their coming, they were brought through the camp, to the place where he was set in his chair of state, with a marvellous and an unspeakable majesty.

Shakespeare's intention, with this reiteration of 'sate', 'sits', 'set', is clear : a canopied throne of state on a footpace, with the supplicating women grouped down-stage. Indeed, this tradition persisted in other plays in the theatre and may be seen even in Rowe's edition which we are considering.¹ But the attraction of Poussin's painting was too great for Kirkall and he followed the painter in using a landscape and not an interior setting of state. He faced the problem of transforming a horizontal composition into an octavo frontispiece by adopting Poussin's drawn sword as a strong diagonal dividing Coriolanus and the Volscians from the women. For Poussin's broad oval composition, into which the varied dramatic gestures fall, Kirkall substitutes two triangular groups, omitting inconvenient figures on the left. This tension across the line of the sword is dramatically effective in spite of the crude stiffness of the drawing, though it has destroyed the integrity of the original composition. Kirkall uses some deft tricks to emphasize his vertical drawing : the horizon is raised and the distant buildings given prominence ; Volumnia is increased in stature and on the right a Volscian spear establishes the high triangle, while an inconspicuous shield in Poussin's work is taken out to the extreme left and its long axis used as part of the vertical frame. In short, the change from Poussin, though the work of a hack, is crudely effective."

¹ Cf. *Measure* in vol. i, *L.L.L.* and *Merchant* in vol. ii, *W.T.* (with "state" at stage left) in vol. iii and a very elaborate chair of state in the apocryphal *Thomas Lord Cromwell* in vol. ix.

The following is a list of the public lectures (fifty-third series) which have been arranged for delivery in the Lecture Hall of the Library during the current session 1954-5 at 3 p.m. in the afternoon.

THE FIFTY-
THIRD SERIES
OF RYLANDS
PUBLIC
LECTURES.

13 October 1954. "Browning's Priests and Parsons." By H. B. Charlton, Professor of English Language and Literature in the University of Manchester.

10 November 1954. "The Lord's Prayer." By T. W. Manson, Rylands Professor of Biblical Criticism and Exegesis in the University of Manchester.

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THE CHANGING BACKGROUND OF THEOLOGICAL STUDIES¹

By L. W. GRENSTED, D.D.

LATE NOLLOTH PROFESSOR OF THE PHILOSOPHY OF THE CHRISTIAN
RELIGION IN THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD

THE University of Manchester has done me a very real honour, and has given me very real pleasure, by inviting me to give one of these lectures in commemoration of the founding of the Faculty of Theology, fifty years ago. The invitation has awakened vivid memories of the sixteen years when I was closely associated with the work of the Faculty, first as a B.D. student, then as a lecturer, and finally as Principal of Egerton Hall, and for a short period, not without its academic alarms and excursions, as Secretary of the Faculty at a time when its syllabus was under revision. I am especially happy that it enables me to pay a grateful tribute to the memory of those distinguished and friendly scholars, pioneers in the shaping of the Faculty itself, to whose teaching I owe more than I can well say, Professors A. S. Peake and T. F. Tout in the University itself, Principal Adeney and Dr. Robert Mackintosh at Lancashire College. And I count it not the least of the gifts which Manchester bestowed upon me that, apart from the Principal of my own College, Archdeacon Allen, who died, full of years and honour, only a few months ago, only one of the teachers under whom I was trained for the Anglican ministry was himself an Anglican. That the comity of scholarship may yet lead to the healing of the churches, the recent public utterances of Professor Peake's successor, Dr. Manson, refresh and renew my hope.

As a young Oxford graduate, coming up a little late for term in October 1908, I had not the smallest idea that the Faculty was then almost as new to its task as I myself was to

¹ A lecture delivered at Manchester University on the 3rd of February, in connection with the jubilee of the Faculty of Theology.

theology. With my own background in the kind of mathematics and the kind of philosophy required for the Oxford Honours Schools I accepted the Manchester way in theology as also among the eternal things. The Faculty was there, visibly in action. Memory still pictures vividly the solid phalanx of Lancashire College men arriving for Professor Tout's lecture, sombre and earnest in bowler hats, a habit which Arthur Wilkinson and I, two weak Anglicans, shattered within a year. It certainly never occurred to me then that Faculties could have a history and a growth, or that theology, with its roots so firmly in the unalterable past, could itself be alive and changing. Still less could I have broken so loose from my schematism of thought, carefully shaped and secured in school and university, as to imagine that the whole great tradition of the *philosophia perennis* would be so transformed within my academic life-time as to be unrecognizable, even in Oxford, its natural and congenial home. And, I am bound to add, the admirable instruction which I received in the Philosophy of Religion from Dr. Robert Mackintosh, whose lecture-notes I have preserved and valued to this day, gave not the slightest hint of the crucial examination of the basic concepts of Space, Time, and Deity, at that very time being carried out in this same University by Professor S. A. Alexander, whom I mention not only as a profound and deeply religious thinker but also as one whose dignity, courtesy, and great kindness to a very raw and young lecturer remain among my cherished memories.

In the field of mathematics the obscurity, mistaken by most of us for security, was even greater. I knew, of course, that pure mathematics and sound logical analysis were closely akin, and I held loyally, as all mathematicians should, to the belief that nobody can really be a philosopher, or, since $\delta\ \theta\epsilon\acute{o}\varsigma\ \gamma\epsilon\omega\mu\epsilon\tau\rho\epsilon\acute{\iota}$, a theologian either, unless he starts from a solid mathematical training. But though I knew and thought that I understood the Lorenz transformation, and had dabbled in strange geometries with varying axioms and postulates, it certainly never occurred to me that the whole concept of mathematical proof was tottering to its ruin, that by the year 1925 Hilbert should

have set out upon almost uncharted seas in the attempt to prove that logical consistency is at least conceivable, even if not yet attained, in pure mathematics, and that by 1931 Godel should have shattered Hilbert's argument at its very foundations and therewith, to all appearance, have fatally undermined the whole structure of mathematics itself. What remains is empirically satisfying, sufficient to secure a bridge or to predict the release of atomic energy under certain closely, but not absolutely, defined conditions, but it is now clear that mathematics cannot supply the ultimate security that the *philosophia perennis* demands. It is not without some amusement that I find myself recalling that I, with my roots in Plato's eternal Ideas, in Aristotle's logic, and good grammar school arithmetic, was by 1930 lecturing to surprised theological students on the themes that one and one not only never make two but never add up to the same total twice, and that the concept of nothingness has only significance as function, the function so indicated changing every time it is used. Without a proper appreciation of these matters I held, and still hold, the theology of the fourth and fifth centuries cannot be understood or given any modern interpretation. For it is only by the consideration of such subtleties, near at hand and for the most part quite unsuspected, that such doctrines as Unity in Trinity, or Creation out of nothing, *ex nihilo*, as the Latin version of the cryptic Greek ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων had it, or Creation not in time but with time, can be approached with any hope of grasping what they originally meant or can mean now.

I have approached my subject in this personal way because, as I now realize, my own academic life, from my matriculation at Oxford in 1903, has coincided almost exactly with the life of the Faculty of Theology here in Manchester, and it is of the changing background of theology during that half-century that I can speak with some degree of personal knowledge. It is also the period of which it is easiest to say something relevant, since most of us have been actively engaged in the tasks of scholarship for the greater part of it, and the diversion of some of our time, energy, and attention to the crude urgency of two wars has at least served to keep scholarship painfully aware

of the changing world in which scholars live. The shifting pattern of ideas, symbolisms, ends and habits of thought is the common background of theology and of all other adventures of the human intellect. That theology, which by its very nature must always have its roots in the now unchanging past, has its own peculiar difficulties in keeping pace with and accommodating itself to this changing pattern is a fact of which more must be said in the sequel. At least it may be remarked here that change without stability is not necessarily better than stability without change. And since all theology, so far as it can be distinguished from philosophy or metaphysics, must take the form of some particular theological system, interpreting and conserving the impact of some significant experience or achievement of mankind, there must be inherent in theology some element, truth or meaning not susceptible to change, even though it is against a changing background that it must perennially be re-stated.

One further point may be added here. It is obvious that the familiar tag, *tempora mutantur, nos et mutamur in illis*, has always been true. The change alike in man and in man's environment is one of the central truths of history, and one which the writers of history have, until recent times, almost completely ignored. It is one of the greatest advances in modern theological studies that this problem of discovering the real background of the writings upon which they depend has been realized and a beginning, though as yet only a beginning, made with its exploration. We now know that it is not enough to have the words of Scripture. We must be able somehow to relate those words to the living men who wrote them down in days vastly different from our own. We must try to sort out those elements in the pattern of their emotions, thoughts and behaviour which they share with us and those which are particular to their age or private to themselves. Only when that has been done can the problem of communication across the centuries be solved even in part. Biblical scholars are now tackling this immensely difficult task of reconstituting the patterns within which the language of the Bible alone has its full significance, and their work is bringing a new vitality to

the whole range of theological studies. We need more than a lexicon for the interpretation of the words which were written down by Matthew, Mark, Luke and John. We need to know the men themselves and their day and the shape of their thinking and imagining before we can truly say that we have understood what they are trying to say to us.

The same task is urgent, and perhaps even more difficult, over the whole range of church history and the history of doctrine. That Athanasius and Arius had far more in common with one another than with any of us is obvious enough, though it took no mean historian to recognize and state the fact. But the statement of the fact is only the beginning. There remains the endlessly difficult problem, only partly soluble, of reconstructing that common mind of the fourth century, from which sixteen centuries of change and of progress have so strongly separated us.

What at least we can do is to recognize the full significance of this fact of change, a fact fundamental to the continued existence of mankind, and by studying it at the point where we are in living contact with it we may hope to gain a clue to the solution of these very difficult problems of historical reconstruction.

Every science, and every field of theoretical study, including philosophy, in which scholars can be involved, has necessarily a threefold setting or schema of obligation and reference. The emphasis upon the different terms of this schema varies greatly with the different fields of study, and with the direction in which progress is being made at any given moment. But in principle, all three elements of obligation are always present.

The first is the obligation of internal reference, the demand for fuller coherence and progress within the science or philosophical system itself. This demand is in principle an isolating demand, making for an ever greater precision of language and of process which shuts out all except those who are the priests of its mysteries, actively and wholly devoted to their service.

The second is the obligation of external reference, whereby those engaged in each particular field of study draw upon the achievements of scholars in every other field, and at the same

time make available to others the results and hypotheses of their own work. Without this continuing cross-reference there can be no wholeness, which also means health, in our dealings with the total framework of our existence, with the Universe or Kosmos, which is what is ordinarily intended (though not in the least understood) when men speak of the world. It is here that at the present time scientific and philosophical studies are in a state little short of chaos. The obligations of internal reference are everywhere proving stronger than those of correlation and common understanding, with results that are always dangerous and sometimes spectacularly disastrous. We may note that the problem here is very largely one of communication, a theme which is attracting widespread attention among contemporary philosophers, and that communication at this level has special conditions and difficulties, for which no adequate remedy has yet been found.

The third obligation is that of intelligibility and practical application in the everyday world of the common man. This obligation is commonly despised by philosophers altogether and only recognized by scientists in the sphere of practical results. Why should we take time in translating our difficult and rapidly changing theories of mass and energy into the terms of common speech so long as we can provide homes with light and power, and protect them by the confident assurance that we can, if necessary, blow other people's homes to pieces, with the very probable result that they will be blown to pieces too? And why should philosophers try to inflict the long and precise argumentation of metaphysical construction or linguistic analysis upon folk who do not and cannot think in that way? Is it not simpler for the philosopher to hand out to an inattentive public the conclusions to which he has come, provided that he knows himself what those conclusions are?

Of these three obligations it is the second and third that constitute what I have called the changing background of theological studies, and it is of the second that I want to speak more particularly. The whole complex problem is that of the shifting patterns of emotions, symbols and words, whereby

man carries out, imperfectly but perhaps sufficiently for the deepest needs and end of his life, the business of communication. And if this problem is difficult at the second level, the level where scientists, philosophers and scholars in every field meet, or ought to meet, it is obscure to the point of desperation at the third level, the level of common speech. For at this level words are governed by dark energies far deeper than our analysis can follow them, and the very fact that men do speak together and that their words have power, is due less to the words themselves than to the changing and ever-creative dynamic that shapes the destinies of men and nations. Such is the common and familiar speech of everyday usage, and with that speech philosophers and scientists must all reckon with some degree, since they too are men. But the obligation is laid especially upon the theologian, for by the very terms of his trade his work is sterile unless it is continually referred back to the daily life of ordinary folk. The theology that cannot be preached in a mission sermon or worked out in the self-management of a boys' club is unsound theology and a danger to the gospel for the sake of which theology exists. Of this, as I have already said, more will appear in the sequel.

For the present, then, I confine myself to the second level, the world of scholarship, in which the outstanding fact is, that what once was in the main a universe of discourse has been for the last fifty years in increasing danger of becoming a pluriverse. In the first ten years of the work of the Faculty, and the first six of my own study of theology, up to the outbreak of war in 1914, the academic background of most theologians was fairly simple, and not more than twenty or thirty years out of date. In the main it rested upon Kant's philosophy, upon a conception of history which was based upon the historians as its main sources, upon the credal and confessional tradition of the churches, and upon a study of the Bible in which conservative criticism was on the whole well satisfied to hold its own against Strauss or Loisy, and to consider the eschatology of Albert Schweitzer with a rather admiring disapproval, Schweitzer's astonishing reply to which has put all the churches to shame. It is not for me, one of the least of

historians, to say anything about the transformation which the study of history has undergone, largely through the influence of Professor Tout, an influence abundantly evident among historians in Oxford today, though I am sure that the study of church history has already felt the effects of that transformation. And I must leave on one side the whole subject of doctrinal history, which as I first knew it and endeavoured to teach it was greatly in need of that same vitalizing breath, while others have far more right than I to speak of what has happened in the field of Biblical studies. But in the fields in which for the last forty years I have been more especially concerned I am sure that the change of background has been not only rapid but of profound significance, and that the theologians who, like Karl Heim and Dr. C. E. Raven, strive to keep up with it have been few indeed.

Probably it is necessary that the main stream of theology should move rather slowly, since its findings must be intelligible to men and women whose main thought-patterns respond but slowly to the pioneer work of scholars. It is presumably a biological necessity that over the greater part of the matters with which we are concerned we should always be one whole generation behind our times. And this is true even of scholars in the fields in which they are not themselves the pioneers, for no man, despite the efforts of the B.B.C. Third Programme, can be quite up to date in any subject but his own. Certainly it is true that the theology of the decade 1904-14 rested four-square upon the work of Kant, criticizing, re-vivifying, and giving modern form to the great Platonic and Aristotelian tradition. Our textbooks were Plato's *Republic*, with the *Phaedo* and the *Timaeus* in support, Aristotle's *Logic* and *Politics*, and especially the *Nicomachean Ethics*, and Kant's three great *Critiques*, though few of us read and fewer still understood the *Critique of Judgment*, with its foreshadowing of revolutionary things. In principle, our framework of the visible Universe was that of Newton's *Principia*. Number, or in more modern phrase, the principle of numeration, stood for something perfectly clear. How could anybody with five fingers doubt it? And, like Descartes before us, we failed to distinguish

between what is clear and what is comprehensible. Space in three dimensions and time in one, the modes of the transcendental aesthetic, made a secure frame within which all experience could be exactly located, and, though we talked glibly enough about the fourth dimension, that, we were sure, had no significance except as a functional bit of athleticism, whereby mathematicians could jump quickly from one three-dimensional situation to another. Causality was just causality, the essential category of categories, whereby the understanding builds up the experienced world of the scientist, and so, choking a little but swallowing bravely, we were able to accept, in the main, the scientist's approach to the Kosmos. Had we not been warned in advance by Aristotle that the concept of cause would be a troublesome one? And in any case we could still hold firmly to the postulates of God, freedom, and immortality, even though that meant jumping several hundred pages and into the middle of a new *Critique*.

Meanwhile there was still metaphysics, and much of our time was spent in running nervously through Kant's destructive handling of the Theistic Proofs. We turned back, for comfort and reassurance, to Anselm, to Aquinas and the Five Ways, and to Descartes, but remained uneasy, though not without ample material for our lectures. Perhaps our main source of comfort was derived from those who had ventured far up the difficult slopes of Hegel, that Everest among philosophers, and had there found, they told us, a further principle or category, that of Ideal Unity, capable of linking *Verstand* with *Vernunft*, of making peace between the scientist and the metaphysician, and of securing the theistic proofs at their central and most vulnerable point.

Let me be quite clear about this. I am not saying that many theologians did not know much more than this. Some of them were outstanding in learning of many kinds. But I am sure that I am right in asserting that the background, the framework into which that learning had to be thrust, however unconsciously, was of the pattern which I have outlined.

One other detail must be added here, in the light of what was to follow and, therewith, of one of my own major interests.

William James, by his Gifford Lectures on "The Varieties of Religious Experience", had made theologians fully aware of the coming impact of psychology, and the Society for Psychical Research, which had been jogging their elbows without attracting their attention for some forty years, suddenly found that Myers' hypothesis of a subliminal self had been canonized and set to work with full theological approval upon the interpretation of St. Paul's conversion and of many other things. The way had been prepared here, long in advance, by a very great psychologist, St. Augustine. But as yet, up to the year 1914, the psychological background of most theologians was the classical faculty psychology of the middle of the last century. The few who went further knew something of the great textbooks of Ward and James. Of what was to appear from beneath that threshold of consciousness of which Myers and James had spoken they had no prophetic inkling whatever.

It is of course true that all sorts of ferments were in full action behind the reasonably calm academic surface, and that there were individual theologians who knew very well what was happening. There had already begun, quite early in the nineteenth century, the solvent process which was loosening the very roots of mathematics and which, in the astonishing path of adventuring with ever more daring systems of symbol and function which leads from Gauss through Riemann and Cayley to Einstein, was not only to transform the Newtonian conception of space and time, but was also to make it clear that no purely objective conception of space and time is possible. In the last reckoning the observer and the observed fall within a single field of analysis. There is not merely affinity but an actual correlation between the terrifying equation $E = mc^2$ and the mind which could frame it and give it verifiable meaning. Therein lies our hope as well as our peril.

This loosening of the shackles of space-time was already being undertaken and interpreted in Manchester during the first years of the Faculty by Professor Alexander, and I well remember how he laboured, at meetings of the Philosophical Society, to make clear to us the relation between extension and extensity, labours which, so far as I recall, had not the smallest

influence then upon our theological thinking. Other effects of the inner transformation of mathematics were being felt at Cambridge, where Russell, in his exploration of symbolic logic, was opening up a whole new range of enquiry into the analysis of mental process, an enquiry in which an earlier pioneer, Boole, had done brilliant work without stirring up an adequate response, only to come, I am told, into belated recognition in the service of the electronic brain. The processes of logic were also undergoing a new and more personal treatment at Oxford, where Cook Wilson had broken alike with Aristotle and with Bradley, and was developing the analysis of the phrases of common speech as dynamic in their conveyance of meaning. I recall vividly his exposition of the accuracy of the phrase, "I was under the impression that it was Smith", and even more vividly his analysis of the content of the word "Fire", uttered with urgency from an upper window. But the theologians who taught in Oxford in those days had learned their philosophy long before Cook Wilson stirred the waters. They went their way unperturbed even by the portent of the appearance in Oxford of a lively and vocal pragmatist, F. C. S. Schiller, who, as John Laird has put it, took the line "that the Absolute was frankly mad and that what Bradley called the 'makeshifts' of psychological and other science were not only all that humanity had to go by, but were good enough for anybody". Meanwhile G. E. Moore at Cambridge, in his paper on "The Refutation of Idealism" (*Mind*, 1903), was attacking the same citadel with far more lasting results.

All this was preparing the way for the coming storm, a coming made dramatic and decisive by the war which intervened. None of the forces which made that storm so formidable were in view at all, so far as theological thought was concerned, in 1914. Freud had published his *Traumdeutung* at the turn of the century, but its English version only appeared just before the war, in time to influence a number of medical men in their treatment of war-neurosis. Jung and Adler, deriving their inspiration from Freud, were developing their own specialized and fruitful systems of analysis, but were not as yet known beyond their own circles. The full impact of psychological

analysis was not felt until about 1921, but its effects were then startling in their violence, and were felt by the theologians even more strongly than by the philosophers. For this there was ample cause. Psycho-analysis gripped the popular imagination even more strongly than it interested the academic intellect. It also appeared in the guise of a healing mission to the stricken in their minds and bodies. The theologian, whose theology must in the end speak to the common man, and who is normally by profession a pastor as well, could not but be acutely aware of this immense new force that was re-shaping the pattern of his world.

Meanwhile Wittgenstein had not as yet brooded over the aphorisms which were to appear as the *Tractatus Logico-Philosophicus* in 1922 and which were to become the Gospel not only of philosophers at Cambridge, where he exercised for twenty-two years an influence as remarkable in its silences as in its force, but of younger teachers in colleges and universities throughout the country and over much of the English speaking world.

Freud with Jung to follow, Wittgenstein with Carnap to follow, the atom split by Rutherford, and the astonishing pursuit by mathematics of the receding galaxies and the random interchanges of electron orbits, these constitute the new background against which theologians have had to develop their own science. And a new situation has been arising in theology itself. Our younger theologians have not been trained, as we of the older generation were, in the thought-patterns of the *philosophia perennis* and the securities of the Victorian world and a Newtonian universe. In the days before 1914 we never thought of doubting that when we talked we were talking about something, and that we who talked were. After five years of war even those truths seemed less substantial. After two wars, unless I am much mistaken, at least that degree of assurance is returning again, and Professor Ayer has lived to be accused, at Brussels last year, of being a metaphysician. And I have found among some of the younger scientists in Oxford who, despite the example of some of their seniors, had been basing their work upon materialism, mechanistic or dialectical, for

some twenty-five years, a strong tendency to return to a belief in God, without any clear categories into which either the word God or the word belief can be fitted, and with an enormous gap between their belief and the Creeds.

The details of the transformation which took place between 1920 and 1939 are complex in the extreme, but in principle it was a transformation from static concepts to dynamic coupled with the recognition that the dynamic has always a factor which involves the person, whether of philosopher, scientist or unthinking "man of the machine age". We do not think of equations as leading to mathematical truth. We operate with them, and verify our results with telescopes. We ask of machines not that they should be beautiful illustrations of complex engineering precision, though that is necessary enough, but that they should work. And philosophy has very largely lost its ancient vision in the exacting and exciting pursuit of an accurate grammar or logic of words and syntax, intended, we are told, solely for the purpose of enabling scientists to define their experimental results with precision, and thereby to secure that verification, when secured, really verifies what it is supposed to verify. That Carnapian goal is, I am very sure, a will o' the wisp that can never be overtaken, for the good reason that the processes of the observer must necessarily interfere with absolute verification precisely as they interfere with the absolute measurement of space and time. Along these lines Schiller's "good enough for anybody" is for ever the best that we can do.

The theologian has thus been faced with the problem of working out a theology which will be loyal to historical fact and to the essentials of the faith which underlay the theologies of the past, and to do this against a swiftly changing background, energetic, personal, and intensely alive. In this background the urgency of the historical situation and the succession of startling achievements which science has forced upon our notice are spectacular but comparatively unimportant. The most profound change of all is that in the fundamental concepts of mathematics, and this hardly affects theology directly, since few theologians can understand them or operate with the

necessary symbols. Even here, however, theologians must necessarily take account of the doors into ethics and metaphysics left open by Jeans, and of the theistic conclusions of Eddington and Milne. And if, here in Manchester, you wish to prepare yourselves for that task by an assiduous study of Whitehead's *Process and Reality*, you have with you, in Professor Dorothy Emmet, a first-hand interpreter of that great but difficult guide to an organic understanding of the Kosmos. But the most immediately significant elements in the background were derived from two sources, the linguistic analysis of the philosophers and the analytic probing of behaviour, conscious and unconscious, by the medical psychologists, rapidly joining hands with social anthropologists as the study of dream symbolism led out into the field of myth, folklore, alchemy and cult. These ultimately drew together, as is shown by Professor Wisdom's latest book, *Philosophy and Psychoanalysis*, but of the two it is the situation in the philosophical world that is most significant.

In effect, philosophers in the English-speaking world have turned their attention from the consideration of the subject and the object of discourse to the structure and practical validity of discourse itself. They have, at least temporarily, withdrawn from the speaker and from that which he is trying to say, in order to secure that his speech shall at least be coherent and expressive. This has meant leaving to science the whole business of fact, verification and generalization into hypotheses, and leaving a very misty gap at the speaker's end of the sentence. It has also meant turning back from Kant to the atomic sensationalism of Hume and to the identification by Berkeley of the real world with what is experienced. Here, rather surprisingly, Ayer and Whitehead reveal explicit areas of agreement. But the primary effect of this shift of emphasis has been an insistent demand for accuracy of language, and this, curiously enough, instead of increasing clarity and therewith communication, has enormously intensified the demand for private languages, valid as aids to precision within a particular school of philosophers or scientists, and increasingly incomprehensible to everybody else. The ivory tower of the scholar is threatening to become a

Tower of Babel. Among the philosophers existentialism, as very variously understood on the Continent, seems to produce such varied effects upon the Anglo-Saxon mind as to suggest that we do not grasp its meaning at all, though indeed the word existential is used commonly enough, usually, as it seems to me, with a complete absence of significance. Possibly existentialism does no more than transform the ancient Greek "being is becoming" into the inverse form "becoming is being". However that may be, and despite the courageous pessimism of Sartre in his "encounter with nothing", it is clear, as Marcel and Lotz have shown, that the existentialism of Heidegger and even of Sartre himself is capable of very close links with the Catholic revival of Thomism. While various schools of positivism and of linguistic analysis are prevalent among English-speaking philosophers, and are commonly held to involve the final downfall of metaphysics, Continental writers are seriously seeking its revival. And the writers of these different schools become daily more technical and more accurate in their use of words, with the result that they become increasingly unintelligible to one another.

With the scientists matters are even worse. It is commonly said in Oxford that no scientist knows what the scientist in the next laboratory is about. Certainly the invention of more technical and doubtless more accurate terminologies goes on apace, and any reading of the more professional journals at once discovers their increasing unintelligibility to all except the initiated.

Meanwhile the psychology of the laboratories has not helped us much. It has become increasingly physiological and is claiming full status as a science, supporting that claim by its tendency to split up into eager and diverse schools, each with its different conception of what psychology is about and with its own esoteric jargon. The one really significant contribution to the background of the thought of today has been that of the different schools of analysis which have sprung up as a result of the work of Freud. For though the analysts have come under violent and destructive criticism from all sides, from philosophers such as John Laird, from experimental

psychologists, and even from the modern psychiatrists with their powerful physical treatment of neurosis and psychosis, they have convinced everybody of the intense dynamic of the symbolic processes which are revealed in art, in cults, in mythology, folklore, and dream. The interpretations of Freud and Jung may differ at almost every point, but the essential understanding of symbol remains, and is crucial for our understanding of the use of language itself. The philosophers may be rightly critical of the intellectual woolliness of the psychoanalysts, but they read their works with an avidity which even if horrified is very significant indeed.

What is in fact happening in the philosophies and the sciences in their attempts to create accurate technical languages, the maps and models of Wittgenstein's disciples, is the effort to de-personalize language and so, if possible, to secure an objective standard of knowledge and truth independent of the individual experimenter or thinker. And what is significant about the common speech whereby we communicate with one another in the affairs of daily life, with their emotions, their deeply and darkly hidden energies, and their questing for higher things, is that it remains wholly personal, and largely, if not completely, adequate to its purpose of communication. The artist and the poet speak in this language too, though they become obscure whenever they separate themselves off by becoming self-conscious, and seek to secure new and private insights by creating new and incommunicable idioms. What is clearly important for the world, and therewith for scientist and philosopher alike, is that while the work of their special languages, the maps and models of their own technical interests, is in progress it should constantly be referred back to the language of common speech. For this, in spite of and in part because of the inaccuracies and half-buried meanings of the words it employs, is more and not less adequate to the main ends of life, since it does not leave out of account the persons who use it and for whom it is used.

In this radical reconsideration of language, and in the linguistic experimentation which accompanies it, theology is very closely involved. There have been heavy casualties in the

war of the words. Cause, causation and causality have been so roughly handled by physicists, mathematicians, and logicians, that they will never be quite themselves again. Eternity, everlastingness, and the whole range of the Absolutes and Infinites, are so blunted at the edges, those same edges to which the galaxies are receding, that though still serviceable in the common speech they are almost incapable of accurate use. On the other hand, person and personality, despite Spinoza's inability to give them any clear meaning, which as he said might be known to the saints in heaven but not to anyone else, are coming into their own both with Jung's enrichment of the concept of the Self and with the recognition of the significance of individuality by the American school of Personalist psychologists. Mind and will are the most complete causalities of all, for the Latin scholastic transformation of functions into entities has been finally exploded by Ryle, with the happiest results. It should, of course, have been obvious from the first that to employ conscious mental processes does not mean that we possess things labelled mind or consciousness. And that this illusion, the result of the unphilosophical realism of the Latins, who could not distinguish essences from distilled spirits or faculties and functions from real estate, should be exposed in great gain.

One effect of this radical criticism of some of the basic terms assumed without criticism in our theology will be, I hope, a re-vivifying of the Greek terminology, and of the far more dynamic and functional Greek way of thought, for after all it was in terms of Greek common speech that Christian theology was first framed. The difference may be readily seen by noting that the familiar phrase *mens sana in corpore sano* cannot be translated directly into Greek at all. No Greek word for mind such as *νοῦς* or *διάνοια* will fit the sentence. They are all too functional to carry the adjective. A man may be healthy in his thinking, but he has not a thing called a mind which can be healthy as a body is healthy.

It is in such matters as these that the modern criticism of language may, I hope, renew and vitalize our study of the ways in which the terms of Greek philosophy became, in the fourth and fifth centuries, fitted to the usages of common Christian

speech, with the legalists and administrators of the Latin West struggling to keep pace with their thought, failing again and again to appreciate its deeper reality of meaning, and thinking all the time that they were leading the way.

Upon that task, the study of the past history of doctrinal formulation, I must not now enlarge. There remains the function of theology in the present, and here, as I have already said, theology has a twofold obligation and concern, which must be discharged against a shifting background which is made up of the linguistic and logical explorations of the philosophers, of the revolutionary concepts, verifications and discoveries of mathematicians and scientists, and of the new possibilities of energetic symbolism revealed by the psychological study of dream and myth. Nor can we ignore the possibility that all our constructive thinking, philosophical, scientific, and theological too, may require of us far greater flexibility in the categories which frame it into a universe of discourse. Perhaps some generalized form of the theory of Special Relativity may apply to Logic itself, a hypothesis which seems to be naturally involved in the fundamental mathematical functions whereby observer and observation are now so intimately correlated. In that case the demand for new or extended categories which, as Professor H. H. Price continues to insist, is perhaps the only answer to the apparently well-attested results of psychical research, may yet lead us out to solutions which, however difficult for human thought, will bring within a single system of coherence the ultimate problems of physics and metaphysics, and therewith of theology as well. The universal applicability of any logical system is quite indemonstrable, just as it is impossible to prove that any set of mathematical postulates will not in the end lead to some inconsistency. But it seems unthinkable that there should not, however far beyond our grasp, be some Higher Calculus in which all possible logics, however locally inconsistent, still cohere.

What, then, of the status of theology in these days when words and symbols are at war? We must allow these theologians must have the same right to their own private language as the philosophers and the scientists, but at the same time

they are especially bound by the necessity that their findings should be generally communicable. This seems to involve an adherence for the most part to the general terminology made available by nearly two thousand years of current use, and still very generally capable of service as part of the coinage of speech. But that terminology must be continually tested against the analytic precisions of the philosophers, and its content enriched in the living present. That that process may not be misleading in the sphere of common speech theology must do as the sciences do, and express its results practically, for this, in the realm of science, is the controlling method of communication. In other words, the Gospel must not only be explained, but also preached and lived. When that is done the language of theology, constantly renewed and made more precise, will also be a means of communication, not only with the common man but with scientist and philosopher, and perhaps even the mathematician, too.

That such intercommunication is something much nearer than a distant and visionary hope we may assure ourselves for two reasons. Christian theology is historical. It rests upon and is controlled by known facts of history, which in their essential outline are available to all who care to study the records. There is nothing esoteric or private about them at all. And those to whom its findings are to be communicated, in word or in action, are primarily and essentially human beings, even though they may *per accidens* be scientists or philosophers as well. They share with us all the same archetypal patterns, the same dominants of the racial unconscious, which are the determining energies in the common speech of man. Their lives are conditioned, just as ours are, by the fundamental biological necessities of food, warmth, shelter and child-bearing, that the human race may survive. They, too, must live, work, and die under the insistent demand of spiritual fulfilment, however little they may like the phrase. And just so far as theology, pressing into its service all the accuracy of scholarship, can relate its language to those same deep energies, there will be no realm of learning just as there will be no human heart where it will not be both relevant and understood.

THE VALUE OF THE COMPARATIVE STUDY OF RELIGIONS ¹

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THE Comparative Study of Religions is so well established in this University that it is not likely to be questioned as a legitimate subject of study. But, all the same, it may be worth while to stand aside a moment and ask ourselves why we undertake it, and what we expect to get out of it. I think perhaps I can make the problem clearer if you will allow me to tell of some incidents in my own early experience, which not only led me in this direction, but also set me on the lines that I eventually followed.

At the age of fourteen I was confirmed, and had the advantage of being prepared for that great spiritual experience by a man who knew a little theology and took it seriously. From him I learnt first about Polycarp and Irenaeus and about the First Prayer Book of King Edward VI. I remember too his showing me a geometrical diagram of the Trinity, which indicated that Father, Son and Holy Spirit were each God, and yet were not identical with one another. It was a good beginning, and perhaps specially good for me to see that diagram, the crudity and probable falsity of which did not escape me. He also gave me some devotional literature in the good catholic tradition. One sentence still stands out in my memory after this lapse of half a century: I was bidden to repeat some confession of faith (I cannot remember what, but most probably it was the so-called Nicene Creed) and then to pray, "May I die in this faith".

That struck me at the time as a most extraordinary prayer. Was I to anticipate that at some future time, perhaps in senile

¹ A lecture delivered at Manchester University on the 16th of March, 1954, in connection with the jubilee of the Faculty of Theology.

decay, I should be led by the devil to deny the faith that I now knew to be the truth? Or was it that I was so bound by loyalty to the Church of England and to this teacher who had passed on to me some of the theology which he had learnt at Oxford or Cambridge, that I was determined to stick fast to what I then believed, even if evidence should some day show that it was not quite true? I felt inclined to pray instead, "May I die in the true faith".

Some seven years passed, during which time I had been trained in Natural Science. Of the theories of scientific research, and the philosophy of science, of course, I knew nothing. But I was living in an atmosphere in which the scientific method seemed the obvious and only one to follow. The transition to theology was peculiar, and yet there was some similarity in the Cambridge tradition of exact scholarship which had been developed by Lightfoot, Westcott, and Hort. One day, with a friend who was also beginning theology, I met a priest who tackled us with the question, "Why are you a Christian?" I hesitated for a moment. My friend, always impetuous, rushing in where I feared to tread, blurted out at once, "I suppose because I am a fatalist". I never discovered what he meant, and suspect that he did not know himself. When I had recovered from the shock of what I considered a rather impertinent question, I replied, "Because Christianity is the best religion I have met so far". The priest was rather taken aback by my answer, and tried to explain to me the real grounds for belief. I think I argued a little about it. Anyhow, eventually he said, "You will understand it all some day from the catholic point of view". I was annoyed at his complacency, as if he, with an obviously narrow outlook, could dare to claim to see the wide perspective of the universal church.

Perhaps it is not surprising that these two incidents of my childhood and early manhood should stand out so clearly in my mind. Looking back they form an integral part of my life, as if it was a pre-arranged plan that I should be led through this particular succession of disciplines in preparation for my later tasks. For me the comparative study of religions has served my understanding of Christianity in two ways. Where

there is similarity between Christianity and other religions, the evidence for the truth of the doctrine concerned is strengthened. Where there is opposition, the contrast has emphasized the importance of the truth of that particular Christian doctrine. These two results I might have expected. But a further, and quite unexpected, result has followed from my study of Islam. Islam, as you know, arose after Christianity, and has proved an exceedingly doughty opponent, not only opposing Christianity but persistently misunderstanding its teaching, and asserting that it is not a monotheistic religion at all. It is all very well saying that the Muslim is the most obstinate man on earth. But the experienced teacher should know that if the children completely fail to understand him it is probably his own fault. Thus it has gradually dawned on me that our expression of Christianity is at fault : not merely that we have not found the best way of approaching Muslims, but that our doctrinal statements in themselves are at fault, even though the religious experiences which they were intended to explain are perfectly true. Now, if this is true, and if we can remedy the fault, it will mean that our study of other religions has brought back a blessing for our own Christian people, and for those in this land who are as yet untouched by Christianity. This is the subject with which I have been dealing in my Hulsean Lectures at Cambridge, and time will not allow me now to pursue this line any further ; only I wanted you to know what great possibilities there were of service rendered to the cause of Christianity by the study of other religions.

How, then, are we to conduct our study ? I have found the opinion expressed in some books that the only scientific way to undertake the comparative study of religions is to be entirely objective, and to pay no attention whatever to the truth or falsehood of the doctrines involved. I cannot see anything remotely resembling scientific method in such a procedure. In fact, it reminds me forcibly of the method of Qur'anic exegesis favoured by the great Islamic commentators. They quoted in turn the various opinions as to the meaning of the verse in question, and then abruptly ended with the formula, "but God knows". Can one seriously suppose that such sitting

on the fence, such refusal to express a judgement or at least a probability, is more scientific than the method of the Master who was wont to demolish the errors of His predecessors with the words, "But I say unto you", followed by a clear-cut decision based upon the moral issue involved?

I suppose the mere fact of being willing to study other religions shows the open-minded attitude of scientific research. Since some of you may not be scientists I would like to give you just one example of what the devotion to truth involves. Fifty years ago the wave theory of light was absolutely proved. It explained the refraction of light through glass, its diffraction from a grating, the pressure it exerts on a surface on which it falls, and perhaps most surprising of all, the presence of a minute spot of light in the centre of the shadow of a silver threepenny bit. The theory was so certain that one could almost have forgiven a physicist if he had prayed, "May I die in the faith of the wave theory of light". But then difficulties began to accumulate. The ether which carried the waves of light became strangely elusive. It had no mass nor weight, its elasticity was perfect. Eventually the ether became more and more tenuous, until it could only be described as the subject of the verb "to undulate". Other evidence began to come in, too mathematical for me to follow, which compelled physicists to admit that the truth was far more complicated than had originally been supposed, and that light had the properties both of waves and also of moving particles. That example indicates the sort of devotion to truth that we must adopt if we are to call our study scientific.

In the comparative study of religions one must begin with the openness of mind which is prepared to find truth in any quarter. But there is no compulsion to find truth everywhere, or to shut one's eyes to falsehood and error. Indeed, since the Christian religion, in which we have been brought up, teaches us to distinguish between right and wrong, truth and falsehood, we ought to be prepared to search for and hold the truth and to eschew the false, wherever we find them. To start, as many do, with the assumption that all religions are equally true, or that all religions are seeking the same end, is

as unscientific as it would be to assume that every word in the Bible was true and every word in the Gita was false.

I think the most profitable way I can deal with my subject in a single lecture is to take a few outstanding doctrines from different religions, and to consider them in relation to their origin, and the measure of truth they contain.

First let us take the doctrine of re-incarnation which first appeared in Hinduism about 600 B.C. It is practically peculiar to Hinduism, for the similar doctrine of transmigration which was taught by a few Greek philosophers a century later never became an integral part of Greek thought, and bears all the signs of being an odd piece of flotsam carried by the chances of wind and tide from India to Greece. Today the doctrine of re-incarnation is almost axiomatic in Hinduism, and is not accepted in any other religion except in Jainism and in a modified form in some varieties of Buddhism. Here is a case where, as far as we can see, the truth or falsehood must be absolute. Either after death the souls of men return to mortal life on earth, or they do not. If Hinduism is right, then Judaism, Zoroastrianism, Christianity, Islam, and a host of lesser religions, are false ; and vice versa.

It is commonly supposed that the doctrine arose from the deliberations of philosophers, and that a foretaste of it is indicated by the mention of repeated deaths in the books called the Brahmanas. That I do not believe ; first, because it is most unlikely that a philosophical idea would have seeped down to the lowest intellectual strata of society ; secondly, because it first appeared on the borders of Nepal, where Hinduism was only just establishing itself ; and thirdly, because it is found in a more extreme form in Jainism. In Jainism re-incarnation is possible, not only into plants and animals, but into creatures which neither the Hindus nor ourselves regard as animate, such as diamonds and drops of water. To me the doctrine bears every indication of an animistic origin, and of a period when the individual was of no account in comparison with the tribe or clan. Nowadays, the doctrine is accepted as an explanation of suffering, as being a punishment for sins committed in an earlier life. It is doubtful whether punishment for sins of

which one has no memory can serve any rational purpose. Moreover, the Hindu conception of sin is largely restricted to the breaking of caste law ; and it would be a natural thought that one who had broken his caste law would be condemned in another life to exclusion from his caste. Modern Hindu philosophers, if they accept re-incarnation, accept it as an axiom, and not as a result of philosophical reasoning. My own considered judgement would be that it is as false as magic, and that it is a conclusion drawn from the erroneous ideas of primitive man. Yet behind it does lie one truth that primitive man had reached, viz. the solidarity of the clan. There is a unity which we are still trying to understand, and to secure in the human race and in the kingdom of God. The attempt of the re-incarnation theory to link up the animal creation with mankind is interesting, and comparable in some way with St. Paul's hope for the redemption of all creation. Yet, much as I would like one day to see my cat and dog growing in intelligence and grace, and discussing with me some of the deep things of life, I do not feel that the time has come for any profitable speculation on the future of individual animals. The degree of their sense of individuality, and of their moral sense, is so slight, except perhaps in domestic animals, that a personal future life for them has little meaning. It may be worth mentioning that the belief in re-incarnation has not encouraged the Hindus to show kindness to animals, or to keep pets ; though they have developed a repugnance to killing animals, a change probably due to Buddhist influence.

I turn now to what is the central doctrine of philosophical Hinduism, the identity of the individual soul with the soul of the universe. That which gives the individual man his consciousness of himself and his very being, is called the *atman*. The magical incantation at sacrifices which compels the gods to give their favour ; that, indeed, which lies behind the whole façade of the gods ; that which lies behind all reality, and (in later thought) became the sole reality, is called the *brahman*. Now the central truth of the whole philosophical theory, appearing suddenly as a flash of genius or a divine revelation, is the identity of the *atman* with the *brahman*. To the ordinary

man the soul appears to be an individual entity, separated from all other souls by the barriers of individual personality. These barriers are the cause or symptom of the divisions, the quarrels, the selfishness of men. The philosophers of the Upanishads, with the blunt directness of prophets, just threw the barriers down and declared that they never existed; the *atman* is identical with the *brahman*. All that is required is to know this as a present fact.

I am amazed at the insight that was able to see in a flash the whole disunity of the world disappearing, melting into the unity of all that there is, the ineffable *brahman*. The authors of the formula, "Thou art That", which identified the wretched human self-centred "thou" with the "That" which constituted the reality of the universe of the gods, were not philosophers, but prophets. Like the prophet who declared that "God saw everything that He had made, and behold it was very good", they refused to face facts, and found satisfaction in a vision. The vision is a lie, not corresponding to anything that we now know. As a guide in life that false vision is a will o' the wisp, a phantasmagoria, lulling one into a sense of security that does not yet exist. Yet we can thank God for it, for it speaks of the indomitable spirit of man which forces him to leave the reality that he hates, and seek an unreality that he longs for and cannot understand.

Once more the scene changes, as we turn to one who hated almost everything in Hinduism: its sacrifices, its Gods, its asceticism, its philosophy, the pretensions of the priestly caste. They call Gautama Buddha a protestant, a reformer of Hinduism. Yet what a strange sort of protestant, who accepted nothing from Hinduism except the newly introduced theory of re-incarnation! The one fact that seems certain about early Buddhism is that Gautama had a sudden revelation about the cause and cure of suffering as he meditated in the deer park near Benares, and that what he preached in consequence of his revelation was accepted throughout North India as a gospel of salvation. Suffering seemed bound with life on earth, and it appears that Buddha, like the Hindus, was oppressed by the thought of countless lives to come. None of their methods of escape

seemed to him of any value. He was probably agnostic about the existence of the Gods, and had no use for sacrifices. He had tried asceticism, and found it useless. The philosophers' way of knowledge had no appeal for him: possibly he had never heard of it. Yet it would appear that he did share with the philosophers the belief that the fault lay with the self. If only we could cease desiring, the bondage of self would be broken. But we look in vain for any other centre towards which desire might be directed instead of towards oneself, either God or fellow men. Is it possible that unselfishness without altruism could have made so wide an appeal? It may, of course, be that he did preach love for others though tradition is silent about it. If not, one can only suppose that the gloom that had descended upon Hinduism was so deep that even a programme of inaction seemed better than feverish activity that only made matters worse.

The insufficiency of Buddhism to supply the needs of man is shown first by the fact that it completely died out in India, and secondly by the fact that in all the countries where it has spread and flourished it has taken on elements which certainly had no part in primitive Buddhism. For the most part those elements are not of a lofty religious character: in Burma there is a type of animism, in China and Japan a frank polytheism. That such additions can in any way supply the lack of Buddhism seems to show that Buddhism can have contained very little that could strictly be called religious. May we perhaps sum up the teaching of Buddha by saying that he succeeded in displacing self from the centre of the picture, without knowing God as the real centre? I suppose it would have been of some value if Copernicus had displaced the earth from the centre of the solar system, and had not put the sun there. We ought at any rate to be thankful for Buddha's corroboration of the fact that self-denial is one part of the way of salvation.

The question has often been asked what there is in Christianity that no other religion has. Something like loving your neighbour as yourself is found in the Dhammapada; something like the kingdom of heaven in Zoroastrianism; something like Christian mysticism in the experiences of Hindu mystics, Muslim Sufis,

and the followers of the Greek mystery religions ; something like a Bible in the Gita or the Dhammapada ; something like an incarnation in the *avatars* of Vishnu. Is there anything in Christianity that is more than different in degree ? The answer that comes readily to most Christian lips is, " Yes, the one unique thing in Christianity is Christ Himself ".

That answer is true, but its truth is not evident at first sight to non-Christians. Others have led fairly holy lives ; others have died as martyrs ; others have given much true teaching. It is only when the Christian interpretation of Christ is understood that the full implication of His being is realized. Christianity is unique in that it reflects back the character of Christ to God Himself. It is in Christianity alone that God is perfect in holiness, in love, and in truth. And the last word of this likeness of God to Christ is so amazing, and so overwhelming of all our preconceived ideas, that it is only in this generation that men are beginning hesitatingly to whisper it, that God is perfect in self-sacrifice and in humility.

Let us look now at the different religions to see what adumbrations of this truth are to be found. The greatest revelation of the Old Testament was the utter holiness of the God who was worshipped in the temple at Jerusalem. The recognition by Isaiah that the holiness of God was the perfection of the character of holiness which is seen in small measure in the best of men, is the high water mark of Jewish religion. But that high water mark was only reached at one high tide ; and too often in later writers we find conceptions of holiness which are related to freedom from ritual impurity ; too often we find an attitude ascribed to God which is more in keeping with earthly tyrants. God might be described as having eyes too pure to behold evil (Hab. i. 13), but His own actions in destroying evil-doers and their innocent children (e.g. Ps. cxxxvii. 9) contradict the holiness of His own character.

It was an axiom of Plato's that God was good, but to our minds a God who is above feeling fails in perfect goodness.

In the Rigveda, one God at least, Varuna, not only took account of men's doings, and withdrew His fellowship from the evil doer, but was good in Himself. But this hope, held

out by the earliest form of Hinduism, that moral goodness would be enthroned on high, was dashed to the ground when the warrior God Indra took the place of supremacy, and Varuna was bidden farewell. In the later philosophy of Hinduism, moral considerations disappear: the *brahman* was above characterization; human sin was narrowed to breach of ritual laws, and sin could be wiped away by bathing in the Ganges or by the touch of the sacred *tulsi* plant. The grand equation *atman* = *brahman* was rendered nugatory by the omission of the moral element: there was no moral condition for the union of God and man, nor was that union to be attained by human striving for goodness. Likewise for the mystics, union with God was assured by the feeling of satisfaction, and not by the attainment of divine character. There has been no moral courage in Hinduism to deny the fables of Krishna's human failings as unworthy of the highest God, even to the extent to which the Greek poets poured scorn on the immoral stories told of their Gods.

I find it hard to generalize about Buddhism, which covers so great a variety of religions. Where there are Gods, as in China and Japan, a Goddess of Mercy can hold the first place, but that does not make holiness supreme. The curious aberration of morality by which alms are given to the monks, not out of compassion for their poverty, nor of admiration for their devotion, but solely to bring a benefit to the giver, is just about on the same level as the old sacrifices in which the gifts compelled the gods to give their favours. Bottom is touched by a modern Japanese sect which teaches that the Japanese (unlike the Chinese) are moral by nature, and therefore the teaching of morality is unnecessary.

In Islam we find a situation similar in many respects to that in Hinduism. God is almighty, and His ways past finding out. No question can be put as to His actions, for what He does is good, and what He commands is good. According to the philosophers He is as abstract as the *brahman* of the Hindus, and it would be as impious to say that He was good as it would be to say that He was evil. The only adjectives that may be applied to Him are those that occur in the Qur'an. Even

their synonyms may not be used. In essence He is unknowable. As for the mystics or Sufis, they are exactly like the mystics of Hinduism. The only test of their sainthood, and of the truth of their mystic experience, is their feeling of passing away from consciousness of phenomena, and their feeling of union with God. Their lives may be moral or immoral; they may keep or break the Islamic law. There is no connection between their manner of life and their relationship with God.

So we return from our little survey of the world's religions in regard to holiness, the holiness of God, and the holiness that He requires of men. Obviously it is in the true scientific spirit to enquire into such matters, and to record our observations. But is it unscientific to go further, and say that the truth is to be found where religion and morality march hand in hand?

Let us be quite clear what we are doing if we come to this conclusion. If we accept this statement, we are storing up terribly difficult problems for ourselves: the whole problem of the evil in the world. Mark you, for those who believe that God has no particular character, even if He is almighty, there is no problem of evil. Why do some painters cover their canvas with colours and patterns that are inexplicable to most of us? It may be that they are without skill, and are unable to do better. Well, then, we have no quarrel with them; they are only like a finite God. But if they are skilled, corresponding to almighty God, what is the reason? If it is that they know it is bad, but do it because it sells well, there is no problem. Only we do not admire the artist. But if the artist is both skilled, and beyond reproach, and yet produces pictures which we cannot understand, the problem remains, and it is the problem of our understanding the picture.

That, then, is the problem for those who believe in the good God. For the fact of evil in the world can scarcely be disputed. Is our conviction of the goodness of God sufficient to stand the strain? I look out on the world, and give my estimate of the value of what I see. Something in me, whatever it may be, tells me that there are few more beautiful sights than a mother wearing herself to death to save the life of a child; than Father Damien giving his life for the lepers till he con-

tracted the dread disease ; than Jesus dying on the cross to save us from sin. If that judgement of mine is wrong, then the world makes no sense to me. But if it is right, if those precious scenes are the ones of rarest beauty, then the world must exist for such beauty—or to put it in common language, “ Such is the Creator of the world ”.

So I come back again to the question that was asked me so long ago, “ Why are you a Christian ? ” This time I answer : I have been round the world, and seen its religions in action. I have tried to enter with sympathy and understanding into their ways of thought and of life. I have seen much to admire, especially much seeking after truth ; much also that is saddening, much frustrated effort. I have seen the evils wrought by selfishness and greed, and by resting in the things of sense. I have seen the beauty of holiness, the love of truth, and self-sacrificing devotion. There is only one religion to which those beauties are indissolubly linked. The other religions, by their failures, by their seekings, and by their near misses, seem to point to that one. That religion shows the way that God indwells the human soul and imparts His character. Yes, I am still a Christian. It is the best religion that I have met so far.

THE DIALOGUE FORM IN THE GOSPELS¹

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THE purpose of this lecture is to apply to certain parts of the Gospels the principles and methods of what is called in German "Formgeschichte", usually translated "Form Criticism". Of the discipline itself I need say no more than that as applied to the Gospels it attempts, from a study of the forms or patterns in which their contents have come down to us, to arrive at conclusions regarding the history of the material itself, both in its written state and, more particularly, in the pre-literary stage when it was handed down by oral tradition. The form-critic is temporarily disinterested in the subject-matter of the Gospels, except in so far as it has influenced or determined the forms; and he does not expect to arrive directly at conclusions regarding the authenticity or the factual truth of the record. Yet if he is able to establish the character of the tradition at the earliest date to which we can hope to have access, he will have achieved something not without importance, even for the historian who asks "wie es eigentlich geschehen ist". Indeed, the questions, What is the character of the tradition, and How is this or that particular report integrated into the tradition, are questions which should be asked, and if possible answered, before we raise the further question, "How did it actually happen?" It is this preliminary role which I should assign to the investigation on which we are now embarked.

Among the forms which have been recognized in the Gospels—parable, aphorism, pronouncement-story, tale (*Novelle*), and the rest, made familiar to us by a whole series of writers who, however, vary in the terminology they use—it seems that we should distinguish the colloquy or dialogue

¹ A lecture delivered at Manchester University on the 28th of April, 1954, in connection with the jubilee of the Faculty of Theology.

(*Gespräch*). An important group of such colloquies, namely, those which have for their motive the controversy between Jesus and His opponents, was made the subject of a monograph by Martin Albertz, published a good many years ago, under the title, *Die synoptischen Streitgespräche* (1921). Albertz collected seventeen of these "controversial dialogues", and examined them with respect to the form in which they are presented. He concluded that they show all the marks of oral tradition. They occur as small, rounded units, extremely concise in style, with lines sharply drawn. All unnecessary detail is suppressed. There is no picturesque description, seldom any attempt at characterization, any indication of motive, or any psychological or emotional colouring beyond the very simplest. The normal pattern consists of (a) a brief indication of the occasion, (b) an interchange of speech and reply, each as a rule no longer than a sentence or two, with never more than three speeches for each speaker, seldom so many, and (c) sometimes, but not always, a summary statement of the effect produced. Nearly always the dialogue is initiated by a question or objection addressed to Jesus, which elicits His pronouncement on the matter in hand. Exceptionally, He takes the initiative Himself. In any case, the dialogue is so framed that His pronouncement stands out with the utmost distinctness, so that it may remain clear-cut in the memory of hearer or reader. Where this pattern is either expanded by the insertion of steps in the argument, or extended by the addition of further words of Jesus, or even of a further dialogue, Albertz thinks, we have some reason to suspect that development has taken place in the process of reducing the oral tradition to writing, though this is not always a necessary inference.

The pattern of dialogue thus described he compares with examples of dialogue from Jewish sources, and shows that the form is similar to that in which the pronouncements of contemporary rabbis were handed down. Yet there are characteristic differences, and the controversial dialogues of the Synoptic Gospels have an individuality which sets them, as a body, apart. Their true historical setting is the ministry of Jesus. The formulation indeed is to be credited in large measure to

those who shaped the oral tradition, but their work must have been mainly by way of selection and omission. For the actual colloquies between Jesus and His contemporaries to which they refer can scarcely be supposed to have been confined within the bare limits of the dialogue form as it meets us in the Gospels. But that the dialogues as we have them do in fact preserve a memory of such actual colloquies is on all grounds probable, and we may accept them as giving a trustworthy account of the matters at issue between Jesus and His contemporaries in Jewish Palestine, and of the pronouncements which He made upon them.

Thus far Albertz. The conclusion which he establishes for the controversial dialogues may in the main be applied to others whose aim is didactic rather than controversial. It is to be observed that he includes among the *Streitgespräche* such extremely brief sections as the two which are contained in Mark ii. 15-20, dealing with the complaints made against Jesus that He ate with publicans and sinners and that His disciples did not observe fast-days. These and similar *pericopae* are classed by other critics as apophthegmata, paradigms, or pronouncement-stories. When stripped of elements which Albertz suspects of being secondary additions, each of them consists of no more than a few words stating the occasion, a curt question, and an answer which occupies less than four lines (in Nestle). The colloquy is then at an end. It is indeed units such as these that he is disposed to regard as the norm, in accordance with the general tendency of form-critics to prefer the briefest forms, which they conceive to be most characteristic of oral tradition. He does, however, allow many qualifications of the strict view upon this matter, pointing out, e.g., that in the story of the man who had great possessions it is precisely the earliest known form (the Marcan), presumably nearest to the oral tradition, which contains those "psychological" traits which a properly behaved unit of oral tradition should avoid, and that in other cases the supposedly supplementary expansions of the dialogue have so much rhetorical effectiveness that they may well have been a part of it from the first.

However that may be, we have in the Synoptic Gospels a number of colloquies which, brief though they are, do bear

something of the character which we associate with the dialogue proper : there is genuine development of a theme through the conversational interchange between the interlocutors. Thus in the dialogue about Tribute-money (Mark xii. 13-17) the demand for the production of a coin, and the identification of the authority by which it was issued, are essential to the understanding of the pronouncement in which it all culminates : " Pay Caesar what is Caesar's ; pay to God what is God's." Without the intermediate steps its cogency would not be obvious. Again, in the controversy about authority (Mark xi. 27-33), the real answer to the question " By what authority do you act ? ", is not the saying with which the dialogue concludes, " Neither do I tell you by what authority I act ". It is implicit in the intermediate steps : in Jesus's question about the baptism of John, and in the speeches " aside " (*πρὸς ἑαυτούς*) which bring out the embarrassment of His opponents. Again, in answer to the question about divorce (Mark x. 2-9), Jesus requires His questioners to state explicitly the legal maxim by which their own varying practice is governed, and it is indeed necessary that this Mosaic precept should be clearly in view, to give point to His appeal to a part of the Torah which He claims has overriding authority.

The same method, essentially, is employed on a more elaborate scale in some longer dialogues. Take for example the Marcan dialogue with the man of great possessions (x. 17-27). It opens, as usual, with a question addressed to Jesus : " Good Rabbi, what must I do to inherit eternal life ? " The first speech of Jesus contains two separate points. First, He repudiates the formal compliment with which He had been addressed, in order to establish a principle of great importance, which must govern all discussion of such themes as the present : " No one is good but God alone ". Next, he puts the questioner on familiar ground by citing the commandments of the Torah (which, as any instructed Jew must know, " give life in this age and in that which is to come "). The man claims that he has kept these commandments. The way is thus open for the more radical answer to his question which Jesus now gives. There is no reply from him : " he turned away in disgust, for

he was a very wealthy man." So the incident apparently ended. But we should be cautious in deciding that this is in fact the end of the dialogue. The usual view may be true, that at one stage of oral tradition the story thus far formed a closed unit. Yet as we have it the dialogue continues, the disciples, who thus far have not been mentioned, acting as a kind of chorus, whose speeches, however, are delivered "aside" (*πρὸς ἑαυτούς*). No one, I think, would wish to deny to Jesus the authorship of the striking saying about the camel and the needle. It may, no doubt, have circulated as an independent "wandering saying", but it is certainly apt to its context. Further, a dialogue which opened with a statement of the exclusive goodness of God ends fitly with the complementary statement of His sufficient power: "with God all things are possible." The fact is that these closing interchanges of the dialogue correspond, in a formal sense, with the generalizing aphorism which so often closes even the shortest colloquies. They therefore lie well along the standard line of development. At what stage the present form emerged, I should not care to say: that it is the work of the evangelist I should doubt. But in any case I can see nothing here essentially foreign to the principles upon which the Synoptic dialogues in general are formed.

Take another Marcan example: the request of the sons of Zebedee (x. 35-45). Here again, after the brief interchange with which the conversation is introduced, Jesus seeks to bring His questioners to the point at which a real answer can be given. The challenge to share His "cup" and "baptism", and the reply "We can", play much the same part in this dialogue as the recital of the commandments and the reply "I have kept them all" played in the foregoing one. But here, as in the dialogue about authority, the real reply is not the concluding saying, "To sit at my right and left is not mine to give", but is implicit in the intermediate steps in the dialogue. To share with Jesus His cup and baptism is to sit on His right hand and on His left. Once again the dialogue is continued, with the disciples acting as chorus; but here we know for certain that the sayings introduced had an independent history of their own, since they occur in other contexts elsewhere in the Gospels.

They are in fact among the most strongly attested sayings of Jesus. Yet, whatever the stage at which they were added, they form a fitting conclusion to the dialogue, providing an apt answer to the original request—the answer which is otherwise left implicit.

In two Lucan examples the process of development seems to have gone further, yet without departing essentially from the governing conception of the Synoptic dialogues. In the dialogue (x. 25-37) with the "lawyer" who asked (like the man of great possessions in Mark) "What must I do to inherit eternal life?" the questioner is encouraged to recall the precepts of the Torah, like the Pharisees who in Mark raised the question about divorce. He cites Deuteronomy vi. 5 with Leviticus xix. 18, thus making a connection between the commandments of love to God and love to neighbour which in Mark xii. is attributed to Jesus Himself. Jesus responds (as He does by implication in the Marcan dialogue with the man of great possessions), "Do this and you will live". At this point the dialogue takes a fresh turn. In order to give an opening for the further development of the precept quoted, the "lawyer" asks, "Who is my neighbour?" This introduces the parable of the Good Samaritan, which, though long and elaborate, is only another way of provoking a questioner to suggest the answer to his own question; for the parable ends, "Which was neighbour?" The "lawyer" replies, "The one who took pity on him"; to which the obvious retort is, "Go and do likewise".

In the Lucan story of the anointing of Jesus by a woman (vii. 36-50), a parable, a very short one this time, is introduced into a dialogue with a similar intention. The dialogue is initiated (like the dispute about forgiveness which forms part of the story of the Paralytic in Mark) by an observation made aside (*ἐν ἑαυτῷ*) by Simon the Pharisee. Jesus takes him up: "Simon, I have something to say to you." Courteously enough, Simon replies, "Speak, Rabbi". Jesus then tells the parable of the Two Debtors, and adds (after the manner of the dialogue with the "lawyer"), "Which of the two will love him more?" Simon gives the required answer. The moral

of the story is then rubbed in with an insistence on detail which is certainly unlike the general style of the Synoptic dialogues. Jesus now turns to the woman, a silent figure throughout the scene, as if the whole conversation with Simon had been an interruption, or even an interpolation (as it may well be), and the dialogue continues very much after the manner of the Marcan *pericopé* of the Paralytic, with an assurance to the woman of forgiveness, and a suspicious "aside" (*ἐν ἑαυτοῖς*) from the bystanders. This is ignored, except in so far as the final assurance to the woman may be held to imply an answer to it: "Your faith has saved you; go in peace." The terms used are those associated elsewhere with a story of healing.

The signs of composition here are even clearer than in the foregoing *pericopé*. There is little doubt that in both we have to allow for the literary craft of the evangelist. But the point which seems to me significant is this: that even in these most elaborate types of dialogue the motives at work are no other than in such characteristically concise *pericopæ* as the disputes about authority and about tribute-money. The interpolated parable in each case serves the same purpose as the production of the coin and the embarrassing question about the baptism of John. In the dialogue with the sons of Zebedee we may say that the *Gleichnisworte* about "cup" and "baptism" are themselves condensed parables, each of which could have been elaborated without altering the essential character of the dialogue. It appears that in all or most of the dialogues, when once we have got beyond the briefest type which is perhaps more aptly classified as "apophthegm", one formative principle may be observed: namely, that the interlocutor shall be required to co-operate in the argument—even, in effect, to answer his own question. In the "apophthegmata" he may be a mere foil or lay figure, with the sole function of eliciting the authoritative pronouncement of Jesus. He is rarely such in the type of dialogue we have been considering. His contribution to the discussion is significant, either positively or negatively.

With that, I will ask you to turn to the Fourth Gospel. Here the use of dialogue is even more ubiquitous than in the Synoptic Gospels, and on a far more elaborate scale. Dialogue

is employed, as in the Synoptics, to exhibit the teaching of Jesus, to bring out its meaning, and to illustrate it by way of contrast with other views. As the Synoptic dialogue often leads up to a series of further sayings of Jesus developing the same or kindred themes, so in John a dialogue constantly introduces a discourse delivered by way of monologue. So far, there is a broad similarity. If, however, we take a general survey of the Johannine dialogues, we are at once struck by the contrast in form with those of the Synoptic Gospels.¹

In the first place we miss, in the main, the brevity and conciseness upon which the form critics lay stress. Those traits whose *absence* is regarded by Albertz (and others) as characterizing the Synoptic dialogue form are often *present* in the Fourth Gospel. Particulars of time and place are frequent : a dialogue takes place at Jerusalem, in the temple, in Solomon's Porch ; or at a city of Samaria called Sychar, near the property which Jacob gave to his son Joseph, where Jacob's well was ; and so forth. More importantly, individual characterization, which is slight in the Synoptics, sometimes emerges quite strikingly in John. The Samaritan woman is certainly an individual character—pert, superficial, evasive, yet at bottom simple-minded and impressible. Still more unmistakable is the character of Pilate. He is every inch the imperial administrator of subordinate rank, drawn from the new intelligentsia, sceptical and yet superstitious ; anxious to get at the facts, and not to make a judicial blunder, because it is his job, yet as scornful of abstract truth as any dialectical materialist ; disliking and despising the “ natives ” over whom he rules, and especially their local chiefs, but fearful of getting on the wrong side of them ; not insensitive to the dignity and integrity of his Prisoner, yet in the end amenable to the argument, “ If you discharge this man, you are no friend to Caesar ”. It seems difficult not to conclude either that John had very good

¹ As typical Johannine dialogues I have in mind the dialogue with Nicodemus about regeneration (ch. iii), with the Samaritan woman about living water (ch. iv), with the Galilaeans about bread of life (ch. vi) ; the series of controversial dialogues in chs. vii, viii and x ; and the dialogue with the disciples upon Christ's departure and return in xiii. 31-xiv. 31.

information about Pontius Pilate, or else that he knew his type uncommonly well. It is true that this character-sketch is compiled, not from a single dialogue, but from an extended passage covering over fifty verses; yet it is *this* individual and no other who is interlocutor in the brilliant dialogue representing the examination of the Prisoner, and that dialogue derives much of its impressiveness from the reader's acquaintance with Pilate's character. If we place such character-parts in contrast even with the best that the Synoptics can offer—say the man of great possessions in Mark, or Mary and Martha in Luke—it is clear that we have before us a very different type of composition.

Turning more directly to the form, we observe that whereas in the Synoptics it is the exception for a dialogue to be initiated by Jesus, and the rule for it to be initiated by an interlocutor, the reverse is true in the Fourth Gospel. A dialogue commonly opens with an oracular utterance by Jesus ("Unless you are born again, you cannot see the kingdom of God"; "I am the light of the world"; "A little while and you see me no more; another little while and you will see me"). The interlocutor makes a response which indicates either blank incomprehension ("What does He mean by saying 'a little while'? We don't know what He is talking about"), or else a crude misunderstanding ("Can a man enter a second time into his mother's womb and be born?" "Sir, give me this water, to save me coming all this way to draw"; "How can this man give us His flesh to eat?") Jesus sometimes retorts with a reproach ("Are you the teacher of Israel, and ignorant of such things as this?" "Does this scandalize you?" "Have you been with me all this time, and never known me?") but the failure to understand provides an occasion for Him to explicate the enigmatic saying or to carry the thought further. The part played by the interlocutor seldom goes beyond this. He is there to misunderstand and so to give opportunities for the development of the dialogue. Rarely can he be said to make any positive contribution, except indeed by way of the characteristic Johannine irony, as when "the Jews" urge in controversy the orthodox doctrines that the Messiah must be of unknown origin, and that he must "abide for ever", thinking they have

scored effective points against the claims of Jesus, whereas, for the evangelist, they have corroborated cardinal truths about the nature and destiny of Christ. Nor are the answers given by Jesus to His questioners such as to encourage or provoke them to answer their own questions. It is true that the entire Gospel challenges its reader, often by irony, paradox or riddling speech, to dig more deeply, but it does not appear that the actors and interlocutors are set forth as examples to him. In the main, at any rate, their role is passive and they serve as foils.

The difference in form which we have noted cannot be adequately accounted for by saying that whereas the Synoptics preserve many of the traits of oral tradition the Fourth Gospel is a highly literary composition. That is true, and yet it does not prevent the Fourth Gospel from preserving the character of oral tradition in some other forms. It offers, e.g. aphorisms, and sequences of aphorisms, scarcely distinguishable in form from those which we meet in the Synoptics, and some of its miracle-stories are recognizably from the same mould, even though they may show some idiosyncrasies. But the typical Johannine dialogues could not have been derived by any amount of merely literary manipulation from the Synoptic model. Their formative principles and motives are different. We must therefore look elsewhere for parallels.

In the Hellenistic world there was a long tradition of the use of dialogue as a vehicle for philosophical or religious teaching. The great exemplar was Plato, whose Socratic dialogues were classical. Other writers followed his initiative. Aristotle's lost "exoteric" works are understood to have been in dialogue form. For a time the dialogue seems to have been partly in eclipse, and its place was taken by the *diatribé*, which itself has some dialogue features. But it is doubtful if philosophical dialogues ever completely ceased to be written. In any case, there appears to have been a revival of interest in this form shortly before and after the beginning of the Christian era. Cicero's Latin dialogues were inspired by Greek models—mainly, it appears, by Plato himself. Plutarch, whose period of literary activity covers that of the Fourth Gospel, has left

some dialogues. A little later come the sparkling satirical dialogues of Lucian of Samosata. More or less contemporary with him, apparently, are the earlier extant Hermetic dialogues, which were probably not the first of their kind. The Hermetists, whose philosophy owed much to Plato, were no doubt inspired by his example to put forward their teaching in dialogue form. Their works are indeed not comparable with the earliest Socratic dialogues, with their vivacity, their dramatic characterization, and their lifelike interplay of mind with mind. But those qualities are not always to be found in Plato himself. In some of his later dialogues the colloquy becomes little more than a device for introducing long monologues. In the *Timaeus*, e.g., it introduces a lengthy discourse of Timaeus the Locrian on cosmology; and the *Timaeus* was "the Bible of the later Platonism", and seems to have had more influence on Hermetism than any other Platonic dialogue. The character of the Hermetic dialogue may be illustrated by two or three brief extracts.

First, from the dialogue "On Universal Mind" (*Περὶ Νοῦ Κοινοῦ*). Hermes is instructing Tat. "No dead thing" (he says) "ever was or is or shall be in the world. . . . Deadness is corruption, and corruption is destruction, and how can any part of an incorruptible thing be destroyed?"—"But, father" (Tat rejoins), "do not living beings in the world die, being parts of it?"—"Hush, my child! You are deceived by the mere word by which the phenomenon is denoted. Living beings, my child, do not die, but as composite bodies they are dissolved; and dissolution is not death, but the separation of a mixture into its components" (*Corpus Hermeticum*, xii. 15 f.).

Secondly, from the dialogue called "The Bowl" (*Κρατήρ*). Hermes has discoursed upon the way to the knowledge (*γνώσις*) which is perfection. Tat has expressed the desire to be initiated. Hermes replies: "My child, unless you first hate your body you cannot love yourself, but if you love yourself you will possess reason, and having reason you will partake of knowledge".—"What do you mean by that, father?"—"My child, it is impossible to be concerned about mortal and about immortal things at once. Existing things are of two kinds, corporeal

and incorporeal, the mortal and the immortal, and the choice of one or the other is open to him who will choose . . ." (*Corpus Hermeticum*, iv. 6).

Thirdly, from the "Key of Hermes" (*Ἑρμοῦ Τρισημίτου Κλεῖς*). Hermes has described to Asklepios the nature of the beatific vision; he adds: "It is impossible, my child, for a soul to be deified while it is still in a human body."—"Deified, father" (exclaims Asklepios), "what do you mean?"—"Every separated soul, my child, undergoes changes"—"Separated? Again, what do you mean?"—"Did you not hear me say", Hermes replies, "in my General Discourses, that all our souls are derived from one Soul? . . .". (There follows a long exposition of this theme) (*Corpus Hermeticum*, x. 6-7.)

I need not stop to point out where this kind of composition differs from the dialogues of the Fourth Gospel. For one thing, Tat and Asklepios remain lay figures; they never come alive, as do some of the characters in the Fourth Gospel. But in spite of the differences, it is surely clear that they have certain features in common. The interlocutor plays an essentially passive part: his interpellations do no more than provide an occasion for the teacher to elaborate his thought. We have the enigmatic or oracular utterance, the incomprehension or misunderstanding of the disciple, the reproach for his obtuseness, and then the development of the theme. All this, as we have seen, is characteristic of Johannine dialogues also. The same formative principle or motive is at work in both, however different the content may be.

It seems, then, that the evangelist has moulded his material into forms based upon current models of philosophical and religious teaching, instead of following the forms represented in the Synoptic Gospels. It may be that he was acquainted with the Synoptic type of dialogue, and deliberately remoulded it. But we have to be prepared for the possibility that he had at his disposal a still fluid tradition, not yet crystallized into fixed forms, which he could deal with as he chose. There are some indications that this may have been so.

There are themes treated in the Synoptic Gospels in forms characteristic of those works, which reappear in the Fourth

Gospel under widely different forms, and yet in ways which suggest that a common tradition underlies both. I will give one example. In Mark viii. 11-21 there is a highly composite dialogue beginning with the request for a sign and its refusal, and leading up, through an enigmatic saying about leaven, to a reference to the multiplication of the loaves, so framed as to suggest that there was a mystery in it. The dialogue ends with the reproach, "Do you not yet understand?" Matthew has the demand for a sign and its refusal in a different context (xii. 38-40), where it leads up to a cryptic reference to the "three days" between the death and the resurrection of the Son of Man. Now John also has the demand for a sign in two separate contexts. In chapter vi it is associated with the mystery of the loaves, in a dialogue which also alludes cryptically both to the death of Christ (vi. 51) and to His exaltation (vi. 62), and in chapter ii with the saying, "Destroy this temple and in three days I will raise it up", which, says John, referred to the resurrection of Christ. I cannot bring myself to believe that the evangelist had before him the passages in Mark and Matthew, and carefully unpicked them in order to weave the material into a different fabric. Yet it is clear that he was working on material which the others also had. The most probable conclusion, as it seems to me, is that all three evangelists (or, if you will, their immediate sources) had before them a fluid and unformed tradition in which reminiscence and reflection were already mingled, and that each formulated the material after his own fashion.

I will confine myself for the present to this one example. I believe that if one starts by fully accepting, with all its consequences, the position that the form of the Johannine dialogues is the work of the evangelist, as literary craftsman, following a design current in Hellenistic religious and philosophical circles, one then finds oneself encouraged to search, by careful analysis, for elements of tradition which he was incorporating in these alien forms. Some such elements can be identified with parts of the tradition known to us in their Synoptic form, but it may well be that the still fluid tradition of the teaching of Jesus known to John included also material of which the

Synoptic evangelists have taken no account, but which is of such a kind that it can be integrated with the Synoptic tradition. The recognition of such material is a matter of very delicate judgement, and cannot hope to go beyond a reasonably high degree of probability ; but I believe the quest to be far from hopeless.

THE CREATION OF THE FOURFOLD GOSPEL¹

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SOMETIME in the second century there was brought about the conscious and deliberate formation of a fourfold gospel—containing the gospels of Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John. Goodspeed has placed this at A.D. 115-25, a date at which he arrives by attempting to show the acquaintance with, and dependence on, the fourfold gospel by the Preaching of Peter, 2 Peter, the Gospel of Peter, Papias of Hierapolis, the Epistle of the Apostles, and Justin Martyr.² John Knox, in his provocative book on Marcion, suggests that Rome produced the fourfold gospel between A.D. 150 and 175.³ Knox's claim emphasises the need to reconsider this issue once considered settled.

The attempt of Goodspeed to push the formation of the fourfold gospel back to A.D. 115-25 rests on precarious grounds. There exists, it seems possible, a confusion in his mind between acquaintance with the four gospels and with the fourfold gospel. The former does not necessarily mean the latter. Nowhere before Irenaeus, c. A.D. 180-9, is there any specific mention of the fourfold gospel as such. It is possible that Justin, whom Goodspeed cites as a witness for the early date he proposes, may not even have known the Gospel of John.⁴ Even Streeter,

¹ Much of this material appeared in the writer's doctoral dissertation, "Scripture and the Early Church", completed in May 1952, under the direction of Dr. Kenneth W. Clark at Duke University.

² Edgar J. Goodspeed, *The Formation of the New Testament* (Chicago, 1926), pp. 37-8, and *An Introduction to the New Testament* (Chicago, 1937), p. 314; these two books by Goodspeed are hereafter referred to as *Formation* and *Introduction* respectively. See also Adolf von Harnack, *The Origin of the New Testament and the Most Important Consequences of the New Creation* (Convent Garden, 1925), pp. 71-2. This book, translated by J. R. Wilkinson, expresses a similar position.

³ John Knox, *Marcion and the New Testament: An Essay in the Early History of the Canon* (Chicago, 1942), p. 152.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 148. Knox, when discussing this position of Goodspeed, writes concerning Justin, "It is not at all clear that he knew the Fourth Gospel. . . . It has been several times pointed out that Justin makes forced use of the Synoptic

who believes that Justin knew the Gospel of John, is puzzled by the "paucity of his quotations from John . . . when set side by side with the central position in his apologetic system of the Johannine doctrine of the Logos".¹ Elsewhere he states that "apart from the Logos doctrine, he has only two certain, along with half a dozen more doubtful, *reminiscences*" [*italics mine*] of the Fourth Gospel.²

The Logos doctrine, which is used as proof in the argument that Justin was acquainted with the Johannine gospel, was current throughout the ancient world.³ Coming into the Hellenistic Jewish thought, probably from Stoicism, this doctrine was developed in great detail by Philo. The school of thought represented by Philo, who himself later came to be counted among the early Christians by some of the overzealous Church Fathers, became widely known among the Christians. It is not known just when his writings first began to be employed by the Christians. But that Justin was acquainted with Philonic thought (a stream of thought of which Philo was perhaps the representative rather than the originator), and probably with the works of Philo himself, seems certain. Goodenough, whose work on Justin's theology is widely recognized, writes:

. . . to dismiss the subject of the influence of Greek Judaism upon Justin's Christianity because of a lack of literary parallels between Justin and Philo, in the face of the obviously profound influence which Philonic conceptions and methods had upon Justin's theological manner and matter, is to beg the entire question.⁴

Gospels to support views which he could have supported without difficulty from the Fourth Gospel. . . . We may at least say that if Justin knew the Fourth Gospel, he knew it neither so well nor so favourably as the synoptics." See also Morton Scott Enslin, *Christian Beginnings* (New York, 1938), p. 461, who feels that it cannot be said with complete confidence that John was known to, and used by, Justin. He says further, "Justin cannot be legitimately cited to prove that in his day our four gospels and they alone had achieved a unique place in Christian circles."

¹ Burnett Hillman Streeter, *The Four Gospels: A Study of Origins, Treating of the Manuscript Tradition, Sources, Authorship, and Dates* (London, 1935), p. 13.

² *Ibid.* p. 441.

³ Justin, it will be remembered, studied in the "schools of the philosophers" before he became a Christian. Streeter (*op. cit.* pp. 376-7) says John himself was dependent upon the Philonic concept.

⁴ Erwin R. Goodenough, *The Theology of Justin Martyr* (Jena, 1923), p. 116.

Elsewhere, Goodenough states that,

Much of Philo's deeper thought, conspicuously the Intelligible World, has either not reached Justin or has been beyond his power of adaptation to the Personal Son of God. . . . But as a Logos doctrine it is still recognizably the Logos of Philo which Justin has in mind, though popularized, diluted, intensely personalized, and represented as incarnate in the historical Jesus Christ.¹

Justin's Logos doctrine, drawing as it does from Philo and from current speculation, needs no knowledge of the Gospel of John to explain it.

It might also be pointed out that a knowledge of John on the part of Justin (for which there is only the slightest evidence) does not, of itself, show that Justin was acquainted with the fourfold gospel. And it must be remembered, moreover, that even if Justin did know the fourfold gospel in A.D. 150-5 it does not necessarily follow that he became acquainted with it in Ephesus in A.D. 135.²

Papias is a "positive witness for only the two Gospels he is quoted as naming".³ Streeter's view that "we are bound, then, to consider the curiously disparaging tone of Papias' remark about Matthew and Mark in the light of this presumption that Papias knew the Fourth Gospel" is not convincing.⁴ His preference for "the living voice" would, so it seems, naturally lead Papias to depreciate all written gospels.

As for the evidence which Goodspeed draws from the remainder of the literary works cited above to support his argument for the early formation of the fourfold gospel, its validity stands or falls with the dates which he has assigned to the

¹ *The Theology of Justin Martyr* (Jena, 1923), p. 175. See also Paul Heinisch, *Der Einfluss Philos auf die Älteste Christliche Exegese; Barnabas, Justin, und Clemens von Alexandria* (Münster, 1908), pp. 139-40; Harry Austryn Wolfson, *Philo: Foundations of Religious Philosophy in Judaism, Christianity, and Islam*, vol. i. (Cambridge, 1947), pp. 160, 418, 437.

² Goodspeed, *Formation*, p. 38: "At Ephesus, then, in all probability, and about 125, for Justin seems to have found it there ten years later, the fourfold gospel was put forth."

³ Knox, *op. cit.* p. 148. In the account of Papias preserved in Eusebius' *Ecclesiastical History*, III, xxxix, only Mark and Matthew are mentioned by name.

⁴ Streeter, *op. cit.* p. 19. Note also the "easy" explanations of Papias' silence concerning Luke and his "reference" to John as the "Memoirs of the Elder", pp. 447-8.

various writings. Probably none of them can be dated safely before A.D. 150, and some of them may have been produced nearly as late as 170.¹

There exists an Egyptian fragment of the Gospel of John which is dated not later than A.D. 150.² The fact that it is apparently from a codex manuscript does not of itself mean that the fourfold gospel existed in codex form at this time. In fact, it may mean just the opposite. As Roberts says, the existence of separate gospels in codex form suggests that "the stage of including the four in a single book and consequently of regarding them as an authoritative unity had not been reached".³ All that can be safely drawn from the existence of this fragment of the Gospel of John is that the Fourth Gospel was in codex form in Egypt as early as A.D. 150.

Torrey has suggested that the only copy of Mark that was available to the makers of the fourfold gospel was a codex which was lacking its last page.⁴ If Torrey is right in his view that a lost ending of Mark resulted from an accident to a codex copy of Mark, then this (bearing in mind the late date at which the codex form came into use) also argues for a date later than A.D. 115-25 for the fourfold gospel collection. Goodspeed himself suggests that the transition from scrolls to codices, "especially for Christian texts", began only a short time before the middle of the second century.⁵

The British Museum "Unknown Gospel" fragment (Egerton Pap. 2), also dated by its editors around the middle of

¹ See Montague Rhodes James (tr.), *The Apocryphal New Testament, Being the Apocryphal Gospels, Acts, Epistles and Apocalypses with Other Narratives and Fragments* (Oxford, 1924), pp. 90, 485; Goodspeed, *Introduction*, p. 353. James, op. cit. p. 90, says concerning the Gospel of Peter, "I believe it is not safe to date the book much earlier than A.D. 150". Goodspeed, *Introduction*, p. 347, and *New Chapters in New Testament Study* (New York, 1937), p. 45, would date it from A.D. 125 to 150.

² C. H. Roberts, "An Unpublished Fragment of the Fourth Gospel in the John Rylands Library", *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, vol. xx (1936), pp. 45-55.

³ Ibid. p. 52.

⁴ Charles Cutler Torrey, *Documents of the Primitive Church* (New York, 1941), p. 40. Streeter, op. cit. p. 338, holds that the loss was a primitive one resulting from a mutilated scroll rather than a codex.

⁵ Goodspeed, *New Chapters in New Testament Study*, p. 13.

the second century, may possibly be a few years earlier.¹ While it was thought by its editors to have been a source of the Johannine Gospel, it is now recognized, says Goodspeed, "as simply another document based on the fourfold Gospel".² Although Goodspeed credits this view to "New Testament scholars", it must be said here that Goodspeed seems to be expressing his own view rather than that of other scholars, for not many agree with his position that this "Unknown Gospel" is based on the fourfold gospel. A rather thorough search of the published materials dealing with the British Museum Gospel finds only one person, R. P. Casey, writing before the time Goodspeed made the above statement, in defence of the view that this gospel is based on the four canonical gospels.³ This position of Casey's was immediately questioned by Kirsopp and Silva Lake who felt that these may, perhaps, be fragments from the early Gospel according to the Hebrews.⁴ That this British Museum Gospel cites the Fourth Gospel is held by C. H. Dodd,⁵ although the editors of the fragments are inclined to reject the view that the author of this gospel used John. They believe that John either quoted from this gospel or that they both go back to a common source.⁶ At any rate, there seems to be some connection between the Gospel of John and this Unknown Gospel. In this British Museum Gospel there is, however, says Dodd, "no convincing evidence of the use of the Synoptic Gospels, for although two of the stories in it have parallels in the Synoptics, the variations are so great that it is easier to suppose that a different tradition is being followed".⁷ It seems to be the opinion of

¹ H. Idris Bell and T. C. Skeat (ed.), *Fragments of an Unknown Gospel and Other Early Christian Papyri* (London, 1935), p. 2. H. Idris Bell (ed.), *The New Gospel Fragments* (London, 1935), pp. 17, 19, suggests a date of c. A.D. 120.

² Goodspeed, *New Chapters in New Testament Study*, p. 47.

³ See R. P. Casey's critical review of H. Idris Bell and T. C. Skeat, *Fragments of an Unknown Gospel and Other Early Christian Papyri* in the *American Journal of Philosophy*, vol. lvii (1936), p. 106.

⁴ Kirsopp Lake and Silva Lake, "Some Recent Discoveries", *Religion in Life*, vol. v (1936), p. 101.

⁵ C. H. Dodd, "A New Gospel", *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, vol. xx (1936), pp. 68, 89.

⁶ Bell and Skeat, op. cit. pp. 36-7.

⁷ Dodd, op. cit. p. 91. Bell and Skeat, op. cit. p. 34, say, "So far, then, as the Synoptists are concerned, we may conclude that [the British Museum Gospel]

Casey alone that Goodspeed, in 1937, alludes to when he attributes his own view to "New Testament scholars". Later studies have rejected the position held by Goodspeed. This is illustrated in the work of Goro Mayeda, which was done as a doctoral dissertation under Professor Martin Dibelius of Heidelberg.¹ His position concerning the relation of this gospel to the canonical gospels is essentially in agreement with the view held by Bell and Skeat some ten years earlier. Against Goodspeed's position are found Dodd, Streeter, Wright, Mayeda, Bell and Skeat, and others.

The Gospel of John, so writes Dodd, was widely accepted in Egypt before the middle of the second century (witness the Rylands fragment of John and the British Museum Gospel, both perhaps before A.D. 150), but the Synoptics had not yet been accepted. He says,

before the middle of the second century the Synoptic Gospels had not yet secured any exclusive authority in Egypt. They may have been known, but traditions independent of them were sometimes preferred, and Gospels circulated which were based on these alternative traditions. The Fourth Gospel, on the other hand, would seem to have leapt into favour almost as soon as it appeared.²

Although it has been seen that Goodspeed has little or no support for his view that the British Museum Gospel is based on the fourfold gospel, let us examine another point in his discussion of the significance of the British Museum Gospel—a question which is of importance to the proper understanding of the real position of the fourfold gospel just after the middle of the second century. He writes :

appears to represent a quite independent tradition. It is not even certain that its author knew those Gospels at all ; if he did, it is in the last degree improbable that he was copying from and embroidering them with the text of one or all of them before him ; the most that can be conceded is that he had read them and that words and phrases from them had remained in his memory and found their way into his text."

¹ This monograph, *Das-Leben-Jesu-Fragment, Papyrus Egerton 2* (Berne, 1946), was not available to the writer. Treatments of it appear, however, in H. I. Bell, "The Gospel Fragments of P. Egerton 2", *The Harvard Theological Review*, vol. xlii (1949), pp. 53-63, and in Leon E. Wright, *Alterations of the Words of Jesus, As Quoted in the Literature of the Second Century* (Cambridge, 1952), pp. 108-14.

² Dodd, *op. cit.* p. 92.

The early date of the gospel corpus has been strikingly confirmed by the recently discovered gospel fragment in the British Museum. . . . That gospel collection *must therefore be pushed back to an origin long before A.D. 150*, if this new gospel was based on the collection and copied into this manuscript by A.D. 150, the date assigned by papyrus paleographers to the British Museum fragment.¹

Why does Goodspeed feel that "The gospel collection must therefore be pushed back to an origin long before A.D. 150"? Goodspeed, who dates the Pauline corpus shortly after the appearance of Luke-Acts about A.D. 90, has no hesitation in claiming the influence of Luke-Acts upon the almost immediate "publication" of the Pauline corpus and, in turn, of the collected letters of Paul upon Revelation, Hebrews, 1 Peter, and 1 Clement, all of which were probably produced within five or seven years after the "publication" of the letters of Paul.² This "publication" of the Pauline corpus, he writes, called forth "a shower of church letters".³ Is it not possible that the "publication" of the fourfold gospel, as late as 155, could have been of as great a "significance for subsequent Christian literature" as the "publication" of the Pauline corpus had been earlier? Could not this event have called forth other gospels? Was it not, in some way, influential in causing Tatian to bring forth his Diatessaron, c. A.D. 170, and Theophilus his Gospel Harmony, c. A.D. 175-80?

The very purpose set forth by Goodspeed and others for the "publication" of the fourfold gospel, c. 115-25, argues in part against the proposed date. The fourfold gospel, he says, was designed to "win a wider hearing for the Gospel of John than it would by itself receive".⁴ If this fourfold gospel was "published" as early as A.D. 115-25 and became so well-known that it was reflected in all the literary sources which Goodspeed would date from A.D. 140-60, how does one explain the Alogi? If the

¹ Goodspeed, *New Chapters in New Testament Study*, p. 47. The italics in the quotation is mine.

² See Goodspeed, *Introduction*, pp. 213, 220-1 and *Formation*, pp. 27, 181, for his evaluation of the great significance of the Pauline corpus for subsequent Christian literature.

³ Goodspeed, *Introduction*, p. 219.

⁴ Goodspeed, *Formation*, p. 36. He continues, "Their aim was rather to bring the Gospel of John before Greek Christians everywhere, . . . and commend the new gospel most effectively to them".

fourfold gospel, which was designed to "win a wider hearing for the Gospel of John", was created as early as A.D. 115-25 and became so well-known that, according to Goodspeed, it was reflected in all the important Christian writings starting with Papias, how was it possible for this interesting sect, flourishing as early as A.D. 170, to reject the Gospel of John and its Logos Doctrine and, at the same time, consider themselves to be sound Christians? In the same way one might ask how it would be possible for Tatian and Theophilus, fifty and sixty years after this proposed date of Goodspeed's, to have produced their Diatessaron and Harmony.

It is impossible to agree with Goodspeed in his view that the fourfold gospel was already in *church use* by the time of Marcion.¹ He would combine its use with that of the Pauline letters to explain why Marcion's proposal met with such success. Reason itself rules out the possibility that "church use" of the *fourfold* gospel recommended Marcion's *single* gospel to the church. It is much more likely that the exact opposite was true. The lack of a fourfold gospel was what made Marcion's task easier. The churches' practice of reading from a single gospel, to which there was some special attachment, was still being followed—although other gospels may have been used from time to time. It was this custom of the churches to read from one gospel, rather than any church use of the fourfold gospel, which favoured Marcion's idea and, at the same time, promised the success of his plan. The fourfold gospel was an answer to Marcion and not an aid.

The "Lost Ending" of Mark, mentioned earlier, and the "Longer Ending" are of much more importance in this problem of the date of the fourfold gospel than it has been thought hitherto. The Longer Ending was known to Tatian in 170² and to Irenaeus in 180,³ both of whom regarded it as scripture. Justin, who is said by Williams to allude to verse 20, has been suggested as the author.⁴ Its authorship, however, can only be conjectural.

¹ Goodspeed, *Formation*, p. 46.

² C. S. C. Williams, *Alterations to the Text of the Synoptic Gospels and Acts* (Oxford, 1951), p. 42.

³ Irenaeus, *Against Heresies*, III, x, 6.

⁴ Williams, *op. cit.* p. 42.

Williams, who rather hesitantly suggests Justin as the author of the Longer Ending, is on more solid ground when he writes,

If another guess may be hazarded, it may have become attached to Mark when the custom was introduced by Christians of using the codex and not the roll form for writings; the Gospel would then be contained easily in one portable object and Mark's ending, side by side with that of Matthew and Luke, would call for "completion".¹

Although an occasional scholar has suggested that the use of the codex for Christian writings began at the end of the first century, most of them would agree with Goodspeed that the transition from scrolls to codices began close to the middle of the second century.

Some years ago de Bruyne, who is widely known for his discovery of the Marcionite prologues to the Pauline Epistles, uncovered another set of prologues to the gospels. One group of gospel prologues, dating probably from the fourth century, had been known for many years.² These are probably, to some degree, expanded forms of the earlier set that de Bruyne has dated in the second century and that he located in thirty-eight manuscripts in which they are extant.³ De Bruyne's final conclusions are that these anti-Marcionite prologues were originally composed in Greek in Rome shortly after Marcion's death and probably before Irenaeus wrote his *Against Heresies*.⁴ Harnack was greatly impressed by the findings of de Bruyne. He, like de Bruyne, also dated them in the second century, placing them somewhere between A.D. 160 and 180. Both of these scholars have suggested that these prologues were composed for the "earliest Catholic edition" of the four gospels.⁵ If this be so, then it is likewise true that they were produced for the first published fourfold gospel—for the first published gospel collection, at the beginning of the third quarter of the second century, was the "earliest Catholic edition".

¹ Loc. cit.

² E. C. Blackman, *Marcian and His Influence* (London, 1948), p. 54. See also W. F. Howard, "The Anti-Marcionite Prologues to the Gospels", *The Expository Times*, vol. xl (1936), p. 534, for a discussion of the views of de Bruyne and Harnack.

³ Donation de Bruyne, "Les plus anciens prologues Latins des Évangiles", *Revue Bénédictine*, vol. xl (1928), p. 214.

⁴ Ibid. pp. 211-14; Howard, op. cit. pp. 536-7.

⁵ Blackman, op. cit. p. 57.

All the buttresses to Goodspeed's argument that the fourfold gospel was "published" in A.D. 115-25 appear, in reality, to be evidence for a much later date. The fourfold gospel was produced, it would seem, close to A.D. 155 by the church at Rome rather than at this earlier date.¹ Its purpose was not to create a wider hearing for a specific gospel² but to do just the opposite. The formation and publication of the fourfold gospel was designed to keep one specific gospel from taking precedence over all others.³ This was but one aspect of a triple literary attack on Marcion and his teachings. Shortly after Justin fired the opening gun, in what has been called "Justin's great counterblast"⁴ to Marcion, the artillery of the church was brought to bear on Marcion's other flank. Just as the writing of the Pastoral Epistles and the expansion of the Pauline Corpus were designed to neutralize the effect of Marcion's "apostle",⁵ so the fourfold gospel was created to combat Marcion's "gospel". As the church at Rome at the end of the first century had answered Hebrew's demand for leadership with 1 Clement and 1 Peter,⁶ so now the Roman church, spurred on by the threat of Marcionism, once more accepted the challenge that she should lead. The formation of the fourfold gospel c. A.D. 155 is one of our earliest examples of this resurgent leadership on the part of the Roman church.

¹ As Streeter (op. cit. p. 526) has said, there is no reason to assign an Asiatic origin to the creation of the fourfold gospel. Once the date is questioned the place must also be re-examined. Rome now, just as Ephesus had been at the end of the first century, was the fulcrum of Christianity. Just as Ephesus had been earlier, so now was Rome the literary centre of Christianity.

² If such were the case, might it not be for the Gospel of Mark? As has been mentioned earlier, Matthew and Luke may have replaced Mark to such an extent that the only manuscript of Mark available to those who formed the fourfold gospel was one with a lost ending. Certainly there was no need at this time to widen the sphere of influence for the Fourth Gospel which was championed by the church at Ephesus and was quite popular in Egypt (at a period when the synoptics may have been only slightly known).

³ Enslin, op. cit. pp. 459-60 warns against counting out the possibility that the collection was formed as a "weapon to combat Marcion's exclusive use of Luke", although he himself favours the motive proposed by Goodspeed.

⁴ Goodspeed, *Formation*, pp. 51-2. In his *Dialogue with Trypho* Justin re-emphasized the claim of the church to the Jewish scriptures.

⁵ See my article, "The Expansion of the Pauline Corpus", *Journal of Biblical Literature*, vol. lxxii (1953), pp. 230-7.

⁶ Goodspeed, *Introduction*, pp. 255, 265.

ROBERT OWEN, PETER DRINKWATER AND THE EARLY FACTORY SYSTEM IN MANCHESTER, 1788-1800

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ROBERT OWEN (1771-1858), cotton-mill owner, philanthropist and the "father of British Socialism", came to Manchester about 1788 and left it soon after his marriage in September 1799, when he entered upon the government of his "kingdom" at New Lanark in Scotland. The twelve years or so which he spent in Manchester were among the most formative of his life. He came to Manchester as a rather shy youth who was apt to blush and stammer in conversation, especially when talking to the opposite sex. He left it as a successful and self-assured cotton-mill manager, with a turn for public speaking, and as a man who had recently married the daughter of one of Britain's foremost cotton magnates, David Dale. His intellectual pursuits during his years in Manchester have already been dealt with by Miss E. M. Fraser, with particular reference to his membership of the Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society,¹ and it is proposed in the following pages to throw some new light on the economic side of his activities in the Manchester of the 1790s.²

Up to the present the chief source for Owen's economic activities in Manchester has been the first volume of *The Life*

¹ *Memoirs . . . of the Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society*, vol. lxxxii (1937-8), pp. 29-41.

² Such portions of Mr. Peter Gorb's "Robert Owen as a Businessman" (*Bulletin of the Business Historical Society*, vol. xxv (Sept. 1951), no. 3, pp. 127-48) as deal with his Manchester activities depend almost entirely on *The Life of Robert Owen written by himself*, vol. i. Neither does R. H. Harvey in his recent biography of Owen (*Robert Owen, Social Idealist*, University of California Publications in History, vol. xxxviii, 1949) attempt to check Owen's statements. See, however, Margaret I. Cole, *Robert Owen of New Lanark* (1953), pp. 19-34.

of Robert Owen, written by himself.¹ This was published in 1857, the year before his death, and was probably written down for the most part while its author was over 70 years of age. Statements of fact contained in it therefore require careful checking before acceptance, particularly in the account of his early life.

Owen came to Manchester from London, probably about 1788. He would, therefore, be about 17 years of age. He had already served his apprenticeship as a draper under James McGuffog, draper, of Stamford in Lincolnshire. Owen was a good judge of fine muslin (McGuffog had been an enthusiastic customer of Samuel Oldknow of Stockport).

A friend of Owen's secured him a situation with John Satterfield, who kept a draper's shop at No. 5 St. Ann's Square.² Owen received £40 per annum, besides his board, lodging and laundry. He did not stay long with Satterfield, as in the course of business in the shop he met a manufacturer of wire frames for ladies' bonnets, "a mechanic with some small inventive powers and a very active mind".³ This man, a Mr. Jones, was almost certainly the John Jones who appears in the Manchester section of John Scholes's *Manchester and Salford Directory* in 1794 as a machine maker, of 58 Water Street.⁴ Jones told Owen of

great and extraordinary discoveries that were beginning to be introduced into Manchester for spinning cotton by new and curious machinery. He said he was endeavouring to see and to get a knowledge of them, and that if he could succeed he could make a very good business of it.⁵

At last he succeeded in getting a sight of these machines and was convinced that he could make them himself. He persuaded Owen to write to his brother, William Owen, and borrow £100; the new partnership of Owen and Jones commenced business

¹ Pages 21-56 of the edition of 1857, referred to henceforth as *Life*.

² P. Barfoot and John Wilkes, *Universal British Directory*, vol. iii (1790 ff.), p. 840. In 1791 Satterfield, after waiting on George III, Queen Charlotte and the five princesses with specimens of Manchester manufactures, was appointed Royal linen draper for the town of Manchester (*Manchester Mercury*, 12 April 1791, p. 4, col. 4).

³ *Life*, p. 22.

⁴ See John Scholes, *Directory of Manchester* (1794), p. 75. Professor G. D. H. Cole in his *Robert Owen* calls him Ernest Jones, but does not cite any authority (edition of 1925, p. 48).

⁵ *Life*, p. 22.

with this capital late in 1790 or early in 1791. It will be remembered that in 1779 Samuel Crompton had perfected his "muslin wheel", or hand mule for spinning fine, strong cotton yarn capable of being woven into such superior fabrics as cambric and muslin. It was this machine or an improved version which was to form the main output of the new firm. The following advertisement appeared in the issues of the *Manchester Mercury* for 18 and 25 January 1791 :

JONES and OWEN

Respectfully inform the Public, that they have opened a Warehouse near the New Bridge, Dolefield, for making WATER PREPARATION and MULE MACHINES, and flatter themselves from their strict Attention to Business, and the experienced Hands they employ, that they shall be able to finish work in such a manner as will merit the future Favours of those that employ them.

The above Machines are made upon the most approved Plans, and all orders punctually executed to the Time engaged for.

This "large machine workshop" in what is now Bridge Street, was, according to Owen's account, specially built for the partners by a local builder, and also included some rooms for cotton spinners.¹ In a short time Owen and Jones had about forty men at work. Wood, iron and brass were purchased for their use on credit. Owen soon discovered that Jones lacked business ability, and took over the bookkeeping, all other financial matters and the superintendence and payment of the men. The firm also began to produce rovings (prepared cotton-wool in the stage immediately before it is spun into yarn) for sale to mule spinners and to buy their yarn back from them. It would seem, therefore, that the "water preparation machines" were roving frames. The *Manchester Mercury* of 8 February 1791 contains the following advertisement :

TO MULE SPINNERS

GOOD MULE SPINNERS may be supplied with Roving Weekly, and the Twist bought in Return, by applying to Jones and Owen, Machine Makers, near the New Bridge, Dole Field, Manchester.²

¹ *Life*, p. 23.

² "... the principle on which the rovings were prepared had little chance of being known, being confined to the principal mill-owners [who were licensees] of Mr. Arkwright's patent process of spinning &c. But the demand for these

Owen was only too glad to sever his connection with Jones after a few months, when a third party with capital came along and took Owen's place in the business. Owen was promised as compensation for his share in the partnership

six mule machines such as we were making for sale, a reel, and a making up machine, with which to pack the yarn when finished in skeins into bundles for sale.¹

In actual fact he only received three out of the six mules, but, nothing daunted, he rented from a builder and land surveyor named Christopher Woodrooffe² of Ancoats Lane

a large newly erected building, or factory, as such places were then beginning to be called. It was situated in Ancoats Lane.³

Here he started on his own "in a small part of one of the large rooms in this large building".⁴ The separation of Owen from Jones cannot be dated with exactitude. There does not appear to be any announcement of the dissolution of the partnership in the *Manchester Mercury*, and Owen merely says that

machines after the decision of the Court of King's Bench . . . [in 1785] . . . soon found makers, and the perseverance of the mule spinner soon acquired the art. . . . The roving-making then became a distinct business, and in this state the cotton was sold to the little spinners. This was common till power was applied to the turning of the mule. Mills were then built of a suitable width, and in the course of a few years the hand-mule was entirely superseded" (John Kennedy, *A brief memoir of Samuel Crompton* . . . (1830), p. 21 and note, reprinted from the *Memoirs and Proceedings of the Literary and Philosophical Society of Manchester*).

¹ *Life*, p. 23.

² For Woodrooffe's activities, see Woodrooffe Street and Factory Street, off Ancoats Lane, on William Green's *Plan of Manchester* . . . completed in 1794. Owen's establishment presumably stood on Factory Street. Owen called him "Woodruff" (*Life*, p. 24).

³ *Life*, p. 24. See *Manchester Directory* (1788), p. 94; (1794), p. 151.

⁴ *Life*, p. 25. He bought rovings from the firm of Sandfords, McConnell and Kennedy and engaged three men to work his mules, i.e. to spin cotton yarn or thread upon them from the rovings. "When the yarn was spun, it was in the cop form, from which it was to be made upon the reel into hanks, each one (sic eight) hundred and forty yards in length. This operation I performed, and then made these hanks into bundles of five pounds weight each, and . . . sold them to a Mr. Mitchell, an agent from some mercantile manufacturing houses in Glasgow, who sold the yarn to muslin weavers, or manufactured it themselves." For the firm of Sandfords, McConnell and Kennedy (1791-5), machine makers and mule spinners, see J. Kennedy, *Miscellaneous Papers* (1849), pp. 17-18 of "Brief notice of my early recollections".

he did not stay with Jones for many months. Later, in April 1792, Owen was to tell Peter Drinkwater that he was making £300 per annum by his business as yarn manufacturer and dealer,¹ which suggests that he had at any rate between three and six months' experience of working on his own. This would fit in with a severance of his connection with Jones sometime during the latter half of 1791.²

Now the curious thing is that Owen states categorically that he became Drinkwater's manager early in 1791, a few months before his twentieth birthday (his birthday was on 14 May). It is possible to prove that Owen's account is a whole year out on this point.

We now come to Owen's connection with Peter Drinkwater. Drinkwater was almost certainly born in 1742.³ When Mrs. Elizabeth Raffald brought out the third edition of her *Manchester Directory* in 1781, she noted Peter Drinkwater as a fustian manufacturer living in Spring Garden.⁴ Seven years later, in Edmond Holme's *Directory* of 1788, there were two Peter Drinkwaters, presumably father and son, the elder still a fustian

¹ *Life*, p. 27.

² The firm was advertising under the style of "Jones and Co." as early as September 1791 (*Manchester Mercury*, 27 Sept. 1791, p. 4, col. 2). Jones and his new partner appear to have carried on quite successfully without Owen, at least for a time. Owen wrote: "I believe they ultimately stopped payment, and that Jones returned to his wire bonnet-frame making" (*Life*, p. 26). However, the following advertisement appeared in the *Manchester Mercury* as late as 21 February 1792:

"TO MULE SPINNERS &c.
FOR SALE

EAST INDIA ROVINGS suitable to spin from 110 to 150 Hanks in the Pound. Likewise a sort of a better Quality, at Jones & Co.'s, Machine Makers, in Water Street, Dolefield, Manchester. Spinners of the above Articles may be supplied Weekly and the yarn taken in Return, if agreeable, at market price.

Wanted: a good JOINER or two, accustomed to fit up Mules and Water Machinery.

Wanted, a good Turner, Iron Filer, and a Smith.

N.B. Mules and Water Machines made on the most approved Plan."

And, as noted above, Jones was still working as a machine maker in 1794.

³ Cowdroy's *Manchester Gazette*, Saturday, 21 November 1801. ⁴ P. 21.

manufacturer, of Spring Garden, while Peter Drinkwater, jun.,¹ also a fustian manufacturer, had an establishment in King Street.²

Peter Drinkwater the elder subscribed 40 guineas in 1784-6 to the funds of the Committee of the Fustian Trade set up in Manchester to agitate for a repeal of Pitt's "impolitic, odious and oppressive tax upon the cotton manufacture, and for preventing the ruin attendant upon passing the Irish Propositions [of 1785] into a law". Drinkwater's importance in the cotton trade of the day may be judged by comparing the amount of his subscription with that of the great Sir Richard Arkwright, which was also 40 guineas, and that of Samuel Oldknow of Stockport, which was 5 guineas. No single individual or firm subscribed more to the fund than Drinkwater and Arkwright. It is not therefore surprising to find Drinkwater acting in November 1785 as chairman of a meeting held at the Exchange Coffee House "to consider the best means of giving a proper and effectual support to that useful and highly necessary institution, the General Chamber of Manufacturers of Great Britain", and he became one of the earliest members of the Manchester "Commercial Society of Merchants trading on the Continent of Europe" on its formation in 1794.³

Later he seems to have been a supporter of Pitt's Government at a time when there was considerable criticism of that Minister's foreign policy. For example, he was one of the signatories of a request to the boroughreeve and constables of Manchester to call a public meeting on 19 April 1791 to discuss the parlous state of Anglo-Russian relations. Several resolutions were passed at this meeting, and the chairman was instructed to pass

¹ P. 35. Peter Drinkwater, jun., was presumably the son of the elder Drinkwater. He went bankrupt in 1788 (*Manchester Mercury*, 8 July 1788, p. 4, col. 1). See also *Manchester Mercury*, 11 September 1787, p. 4.

² This was also the address of the elder Drinkwater's warehouse.

³ A. Redford, *Manchester Merchants and Foreign Trade, 1794-1858*, pp. 10, 20; *Report of the Receipts and Disbursements of the Committee of the Fustian Trade, 1786* (Assay Office, Birmingham). Drinkwater was a member of the small deputation appointed by the Manchester manufacturers in July 1784 to wait on the Lords of the Treasury with the object of preventing a rumoured plan to substitute a tax on raw cotton for the tax on printed goods (*Book of the Fustian Committee*, July 1784).

them on to the two M.P.s for the county with a request that they should vote in accordance with the principles expressed in them. They were evidently of a pacifist tendency, for Peter Drinkwater was later one of several hundred persons who publicly protested against the proceedings of this meeting, in the following words: "For although we feel . . . the evils attendant upon a war, we think an interference of this nature highly improper, on a subject which the Constitution hath wisely lodged in the hands of the executive power."¹

In 1792 Drinkwater senior was appointed a J.P.² for the county of Lancaster (Salford Hundred) and from the list of J.P.s for 1794 it appears that he had a country residence, Irwell House, near Agecroft Bridge, where he lived in the summer, coming up to town on two or three days a week. In the 1790s he had a town house at 42 Fountain Street, Manchester, where he spent the winter season.³ The *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1789 contains the obituary notice of his wife, Margaret, who died on 7 March of that year, and was described as "sister to the late Mr. Serjeant Bolton".⁴

In June 1785 this same Serjeant Bolton, Drinkwater's brother-in-law, had examined Thomas Highs as counsel for the Crown in the famous case of *Rex v. Arkwright* in the Court of King's Bench, when the Lancashire cotton-spinners successfully impugned, by writ of *scire facias*, the validity of Arkwright's second patent of 1775 for carding, drawing and roving machines.⁵ Highs (1719-1803) claimed that Arkwright filched both the idea of spinning by rollers and the device of cylinders in the roving frames from him. It is significant that Highs, according to Baines, "was supported in his old age by the liberality of Peter

¹ See *Manchester Mercury*, 19, 26 April, 3 May 1791.

² He took his sacrament certificate on 1 July 1792, his oath of office on 19 July 1792, and made his first appearance at a Quarter Session on the same day. (Information kindly supplied by R. Sharpe France, Esq., of the County Record Office, Preston, Lancs.)

³ *Life*, p. 29; John Scholes, *Manchester Directory* (1794), p. xiii; Gerard Banks, *Manchester and Salford Directory* (1800), p. 51.

⁴ *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1789, part i, p. 279; C. H. Drinkwater and W. G. D. Fletcher, *The family of Drinkwater* (1920), pp. 84-5.

⁵ A. Ure, *The Cotton Manufacture of Great Britain*. vol i, (1836), pp. 221-2.

Drinkwater, Esq., of Manchester, and others".¹ Owen refers to Drinkwater as "a good fustian manufacturer and a first-rate foreign merchant", who was able on account of his great wealth to survive the commercial crisis of 1792-3 without very much loss.²

It is interesting to note that in Scholes's *Manchester and Salford Directory* of 1794, Drinkwater is no longer described as a fustian manufacturer, but as "merchant and cotton manufacturer", of 29 York Street.³ It appears that 29 York Street was his counting house, or business office. His town house, 42 Fountain Street, was, of course, just round the corner. For example, when the creditors of John Stopford, cotton manufacturer, of Oldham Street, who went bankrupt in 1790, desired to hold a meeting on 20 March 1792, it was "at the Counting House of Peter Drinkwater in York Street" that they foregathered.⁴

It seems clear that in the course of the 1780s Drinkwater had begun to transmute some of the capital he had accumulated as a textile middleman and exporter into industrial capital. Wishing to cheapen the cost of his raw material by taking advantage of the improved methods of spinning which were spreading in the 1780s, he had purchased or set up a water-driven cotton factory at Northwich in Cheshire (the exact date of this event is unknown, but the evidence shows that it was probably before 1789). The Northwich mill "was employed in what was technically called water-spinning,—or warp-spinning on machinery similar to Arkwright's at Cromford, Manchester, and elsewhere". In 1792 it was under the management of an elderly man, who had been in charge of it for some years; its yarn was much coarser than that to be produced by Drinkwater's second mill.⁵

¹ E. Baines, *History of the Cotton Manufacture* (1835), p. 156 n.

² *Life*, pp. 26-7, 38-9. In 1794 he was in a strong enough financial position to buy the manor of Prestwich and Pendlebury, Lancs., from Thomas William Coke (Drinkwater and Fletcher, op. cit. pp. 84-5).

³ P. 40.

⁴ *Manchester Mercury*, 13 March 1792.

⁵ *Life*, p. 39. For some further details about Drinkwater and the Northwich mill in 1797-8, see T. S. Willan, *The Navigation of the River Weaver in the eighteenth century* (Chetham Society, 1951), pp. 126-7.

Early in 1789 Peter Drinkwater began to erect his second factory, a four-storied structure, popularly known as Bank Top Mill, and to those concerned in it as the Piccadilly Factory. It lay just off London Road, between Auburn Street and Upton Street.¹ Dr. Alexander Ure states that this Piccadilly factory was the first cotton mill in Manchester to be powered by a rotary steam engine.² According to Owen's account, Drinkwater had built the mill "for finer spinning, and was beginning to fill it with machinery under the superintendence (*sic*) of a Mr. George [Augustus] Lee",³ when Lee rather shabbily decided to leave him in order to go into partnership with a rival Mr. (afterwards Sir) George Philips in a large cotton mill in Salford. In 1789, however, Drinkwater told Boulton and Watt that a gentleman named Richard Slack would have "a very considerable interest" in the Piccadilly factory and the "sole conducting of it".⁴ Lee had apparently been promoted from being a clerk in the Northwich mill to the management of the Piccadilly factory on the death of Slack early in 1791.⁵ Accord-

¹ "Mr. Drinkwater's Cotton Works" are prominently identified on William Green's map of 1794. No visible trace of the factory remains. It lay across what is now Aytoun Street.

² *Op. cit.* vol. i, p. 274.

³ *Life*, p. 26; *Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. xxxii, p. 360.

⁴ 18 April 1789 (Boulton and Watt Collection). According to James Butterworth (*The Antiquities of the Town, and the complete history of the Trade, of Manchester* (1822), pp. 94-5) Slack was the "overlooker of the spinning part only", while the superintendence of the engine and machinery devolved on Mr. I. Wakefield, who made "great improvements in the machinery of the mule during his stay in that concern".

⁵ For the death of Slack, "certainly one of the first practical spinners of that day" (Butterworth), see *Manchester Mercury*, 22 March 1791, p. 4, col. 2, where the furniture in his house "adjoining to the large New Cotton Factory, near Piccadilly, Manchester" was offered for sale. For George Augustus Lee (1761-1826), see also John Kennedy, *A brief memoir of Samuel Crompton*, pp. 6-7. In 1816 Lee was examined by a Parliamentary Committee (17 June), Sir Robert Peel being in the chair: "Were you not a manager at Mr. Drinkwater's factory? [A.] I was, about six-and-twenty years ago [i.e. c. 1790]. What were the regular hours of work when you had the direction of that mill? [A.] from six [a.m.] to seven [p.m.], the same as Mr. Arkwright's; and another set of hands all night. I was a clerk there. The mill was in Northwich, in Cheshire. There was a mill in Manchester for mule-spinning, I think, where the hours were from six [a.m.] to eight [p.m.].

Did the children work all night there? [A.] No.

ing to Owen, Drinkwater was "totally ignorant of everything connected with cotton spinning".¹ Indeed, Owen's picture of Drinkwater can scarcely be called a favourable one.

Fortunately there are other documents available which throw a great deal of light on Drinkwater's character and business concerns. In 1789 he became deeply involved in the installation of a Boulton and Watt steam engine in this "rather expensive" new factory in Piccadilly and a small bundle of his letters, bearing various dates between 3 April and 13 December 1789, written to the famous Scho firm of engineers is preserved in the Boulton and Watt collection in Birmingham Public Library. The impression gained from reading these letters is of a good-hearted, if somewhat pompous and prolix gentleman.²

The first letter shows him meeting local opposition to the erection of the new steam engine :

I should have wrote you on this subject much sooner had I not been incommoded on all sides by threats of a prosecution for erecting a nuisance and indeed, the prejudice is not yet much, if at all, abated. The fact is that we have already a great number of the common old smoaking engines in and about the town,³ which I confess are far from being agreeable and the public yet are not all inclined to believe otherwise than that a steam engine of any sort must be highly offensive.⁴

The contract with Boulton and Watt for the erection of the engine, ante-dated to 1 April 1789, shows that it was of the

What mill was that? [A.] It was a mill in Piccadilly; I was there but a short time after it was erected.

The only instance of working there more than Arkwright's hours was confined to a mill in Piccadilly? [A.] No; I believe other mills in the town all worked from six to eight. I beg leave to observe that they worked by hand at that time in Manchester, not by a steam-engine.

The mule-spinning was by hand? [A.] Yes."

(Report of the Minutes of Evidence taken before the Select Committee on the State of the Children employed in the Manufactories of the United Kingdom, 25 April-18 June 1816, pp. 355-6.) ¹ *Life*, p. 26.

² See James Lawson, Manchester (one of Boulton and Watt's engine erectors) to J. Watt, jun., Soho, 29 March 1796: "I lost most of the morning by P. Drinkwater who wants a larger engine but determines nothing by his long harangue of nonsense. I have promised to dine with him on my return."

³ These were pumping engines on Newcomen's pattern.

⁴ P. D. to B. and W., 3 April 1789. See also James Watt to William Thomson, Glasgow, 5 August 1791: "Mr. Drinkwater at Manchester was threatened per advance with a prosecution if he made any smoke; he has, however, taken care not to do so, and has escaped hitherto."

rotary type, with a 16-inch cylinder, had a piston with a 4-foot stroke, and was of the power of 8 horses. Drinkwater was to pay Boulton and Watt an annual premium of £40 and the engine was to be used for "preparing and carding cotton and for such other purposes as may be required".

In fact, Drinkwater mentioned in his letter of 3 April 1789 that he did not intend to use it for spinning cotton. In the same letter he frankly admitted that he was ignorant of the nature of steam engines of any kind, and asked Boulton and Watt to send him

as soon as possible a sketch for my regulation in digging over the foundations of the walls of the whole building, for which purpose I have now a considerable number of hands in waiting.

By following the correspondence we can watch the building rising and see the difficulties which beset the investor of capital even in the days of *laissez faire*. We can also note Drinkwater's eye for detail. By June 1789 he was reporting that no adequate foundations could be found until the labourers had dug down to a depth of over 9 feet, and accordingly cellars had to be added to the building. The thickness of the outer walls had also to be increased by half a brick to 23 inches. By June the bricklayers and well-sinkers had "gone to the first floor nearly with one end of the factory".¹

Yet the engine was still not installed by the end of 1789 and Drinkwater wrote in November that he was "much hindered in proceeding with my job by the uncommon wetness of the seasons, and now added to this I have had great difficulty indeed in sinking the well for the cold water pump by a quicksand which has caused several weeks' more delay".²

He was insistent that the new factory should be as light and airy as possible. In his preliminary instructions to Boulton and Watt concerning the building of the engine-house he wrote :

¹ P. D. to B. and W., 3 June 1789; and James Watt to P. D., 6 June 1789. The nature of the subsoil in the township of Manchester noted here may account to some extent for the prevalence of those cellar dwellings which were to become notorious in the 1830s and 1840s.

² P. D. to B. and W., 21 November 1789.

My Dear Boulton & Watt

Agreeable to your favor of the 7th
Mr Wilkinson has wrote from Birmingham saying, he
can deliver a Boiler at Burton Brook in a week - of
the dimensions you gave them - but wish to inform
you that we shall not fit the new Boiler in the same
place as the old one, intending to have two therefore
you need not be confined to the size or form, if you
think a long or larger Boiler will answer better Mr
Perrins thinks a long one the best, but orders that
kind which you know from experience is the best

Please to transmit the order immediately
& request as much expedition as good work
will admit of also for Mr Wilkinson to send directions
with the Boiler to Burton Brook for it to be forwarded
immediately by which you will oblige
yours &c &c for

Pine-dilly Railway 11 March 1793
Manchester Peter Dickinson
Robert Owen

ONE OF THE EARLIEST DOCUMENTS IN ROBERT OWEN'S
HANDWRITING

(Reproduced by kind permission of Birmingham Public Library)

I wish you to block up no more of my intended¹ windows than you can help by either the width or the height of your brickwork or roof, for to give the building (I mean the factory part) its greatest possible convenience, it should have a continued series of windows—one and a pier introduced in the distance of every 8 or 9 foot or thereabout.¹

Later, he complained that Boulton and Watt's plans would "not only block me up 3 windows in the first factory floor, but also a good share of 3 in the 2nd floor".²

Drinkwater's views on the sanitation and the lavatory accommodation in the new building were quite advanced, if not quite as modern as those of Boulton and Watt. The correspondence shows that he bestowed considerable thought on the whole question. In the preliminary instructions of April 1789, he wrote :

I would likewise wish you to introduce room for 4 small single necessities—one for each room, to be placed nearly one over another, and so, if possible, to be so managed as neither to be offensive or endanger the health of the people at work. To which purpose I shall be thankful for your advice, whether it will be proper to pass a current of water thro' them to a common sewer by help of the engine pump at nights and mornings before the works are set a-going, or whether to make air pipes or vents in the brickwork from the excrement in the bottom to the top of the roof will not answer the same end.³

A fortnight later he was seriously perturbed by the Soho firm's architectural suggestions :

Could not the necessities be conveniently introduced in the angle [of the wall], not on the outside as you propose, for in that case it would block up 4 windows more, i.e. one on every story of the factory ?

Boulton and Watt wished him to instal a flushing device consisting of watercocks to be operated from each lavatory, but he still thought that his original idea of 4 brickwork pipes about 14 inches square running right down the building to communicate with a common sewer "would answer full as well and be less expensive than water closets". He wanted to have the proposed piping flushed out once or twice a day.

Modern sanitary appliances are now taken so much for granted that we generally fail to realise when studying conditions during the Industrial Revolution that at one time the mass of the

¹ P. D. to B. and W., 3 April 1789.

² P. D. to B. and W., 18 April 1789.

³ P. D. to B. and W., 3 April 1789.

population did not know how to use them.¹ Drinkwater went on :

... the pipes of ... [water closets] ... I know from experience, would be apt to burst in frosty weather. Nor could, I fear, the poor ignorant workpeople and children be taught to turn and manage the cocks etc. without the closets running into a state of disorder and nastiness, a situation in which I have sometimes seen them, but in all these things your experience and better judgement will set me right.²

A further letter on 3 June 1789 shows that he had not only adopted Boulton and Watt's advanced sanitary arrangements, but had also fitted a stench trap and intended to flush the lavatories occasionally with "a strong stream of water let out from the great wooden cistern of the engine . . . when the rain collected from the roof into and through a leaden pipe does not do the business sufficiently". And he added, very creditably :

... the object of keeping the factory sweet and wholesome at this point is a matter which I cannot help considering of the utmost importance, whether as regards decency, convenience or humanity.

It would be interesting to know whether Drinkwater's sentiments and the conditions in the Piccadilly Factory influenced Owen's later experiments at New Lanark.

If we may judge by Drinkwater's experience, it was not always an easy task for the rising cotton magnates to build factories, fill them with machinery and man them with trained, efficient workers. Drinkwater was worried about the capital expenditure to which he had committed himself and about the running costs of the new factory. In June 1789 he tried to secure from Boulton and Watt some reduction of the annual premium on his steam engine, and brought forward the example of what was described in 1836 as "the oldest cotton mill in Manchester". It stood on Shudehill, and had been built in the early 1780s by Messrs. Arkwright, Simpson and Whittenbury. It was noteworthy because the spinning machinery was not driven directly by steam power, but indirectly, by means of a single-stroke atmospheric pumping engine of the Newcomen

¹ In this connection see D. M. Vaughan's remarks on "Justice to the past in the teaching of social history" in *History*, vol. xxxii (March 1947), no. 115, pp. 52-5.

² P. D. to B. and W., 18 April 1789.

type, which replenished the factory water-wheel's reservoir.¹ Drinkwater wrote :

. . . circumstanced as a cotton manufacturer is, it is *impossible to exercise its* [the engine's] *full power all at once*—the factory at Shude Hill which your Mr. Southern has seen has been more than 7 years in filling with machinery and I am doubtful whether with convenience it could have been filled much sooner. That I am now building will and must labour under the same inconvenience so far that I fear I shall not be able to use more than the power of 3 or 4 horses within the compass of two years or more after the engine is set agoing. Could you therefore be satisfied to receive a premium . . . according to the power which the purchaser could bring immediately into use and so progressively till his buildings could be filled with machinery and people ?²

Boulton and Watt remained unimpressed by this argument, which they had heard before. In the course of 1789, however, Drinkwater was favoured with a visit from the great Matthew Boulton himself, who promised, among other improvements, that the engine should be fitted with Watt's new governor, a device which would not " permit 2 strokes per minute of increase of velocity though all the work were taken away at once ". This was particularly important where machinery had to run smoothly. Drinkwater was evidently a quick learner, both with regard to steam engines and the cotton trade, for in spite of his alleged ignorance on both subjects he wrote to Soho in November 1789, after Boulton's visit, with reference to the governor :

. . . among these inventions one, I understand, is of a nature solely calculated to secure more effectually an equable motion under different degrees of heat from the fire—a property so extremely essential in preparing cotton to work into *fine* yarn that I would on no account have you deny [me] the use of this instrument.

In his reply James Watt agreed to fit the governor or regulator to Drinkwater's engine, adding a strong warning against showing it to others.³ As far as can be ascertained the engine was set to work in 1790,⁴ and its newly-invented governor may explain some of Owen's later success as a spinner of fine yarns. Remember what Owen said about Drinkwater :

¹ Ure, op. cit. vol. i, p. 273.

² P. D. to B. and W., 3 June 1789.

³ James Watt to P. D., 25 November 1789 in reply to P. D.'s of 21 November.

⁴ J. Watt to T. Cooper, 1 May 1790. Drinkwater installed a second Boulton and Watt engine in the Piccadilly Factory in 1799-1800. It was of 14 h.p. (Engine Book, Boulton and Watt Collection, Birmingham Public Library).

Mr. Drinkwater knew nothing about the mill. . . . He never came to the mill, but almost always desired to see me at his counting house on the days he attended there, and that I should bring specimens of the manufacture week by week.¹

For a short time before Owen entered into the picture, George Augustus Lee was the manager of the Piccadilly Factory, then employing about 500 people. Lee gave notice to leave Drinkwater's service and according to Owen's account, Drinkwater

. . . had to advertise for a manager to undertake the superintendence of this mill, now in progress; and his advertisement appeared on a Saturday in the Manchester papers, but I had not seen or heard of it until I went to my factory on the Monday morning following, when, as I entered the room where my spinning machines were, one of the spinners said—"Mr. Lee has left Mr. Drinkwater, and he has advertised for a manager."²

In Owen's well-known account of his interview with Drinkwater concerning the post, Owen alleged that he replied to Drinkwater's query "How old are you?" by saying "Twenty in May this year" which would place the affair in January-April 1791. In actual fact Drinkwater's advertisement appeared exactly a year after Owen's date. In 1792 Manchester had three weekly newspapers, the *Manchester Mercury*, each issue of which bore Tuesday's date, the *Manchester Chronicle*, published on Saturdays, and the short-lived *Manchester Herald*, which also bore Saturday's date. Drinkwater's advertisement first appeared in the *Chronicle* for 14 April 1792. The file of the *Mercury* in Chetham's Library shows that the advertisement was repeated in that newspaper on 17 April, and it also appeared in the advanced Radical *Manchester Herald* of Saturday 21 April, with certain slight alterations. This last insertion is date-lined "King-street, 19 April", which shows that the vacancy was not then filled. It is impossible to state definitely which insertion Owen saw, but it may very well have been that in the *Manchester Herald*, which would place the date of this interview with Drinkwater on Monday, 23 April 1792. Unfortunately,

¹ *Life*, pp. 28-9.

² *Ibid.* p. 27. Lee actually left the factory the day before Owen took over the management (*ibid.* p. 28).

if we take the terms of the advertisement as being correct, Drinkwater would not have been interviewing applicants for the post on a *Monday* morning, although Owen states that he had been doing so. The advertisement in the *Mercury* reads :

SUPERINTENDENCY OF A FACTORY

WANTED

A PERSON to superintend and conduct an extensive MULE FACTORY, to whom any salary will be allowed proportionate to Merit.

No one need apply, whose Character, in regard to Morals, as well as Capacity and Steadiness, is not every way respectable.

For Particulars apply to Mr. Drinkwater, at his Warehouse in Manchester, on Tuesdays, Thursdays or Saturdays from eleven to two o'clock.¹

It is not proposed to go over the familiar details of how Owen persuaded Drinkwater to appoint him manager of the Piccadilly Factory at £300 per annum, after an inspection of the books of the small spinning factory off Ancoats Lane. Owen was rather abashed when he saw hundreds of workpeople and the new machines in Drinkwater's large modern establishment, but after keeping his eyes open and his mouth shut for six weeks he felt, as usual, "ready to give directions in every department".² The previous manager had succeeded in producing yarns and thread of what was then considered an extraordinary fineness, known technically as "one hundred and twenty hanks in the pound", i.e. 120 hanks, each 840 yards in length, were required to weigh 1 lb., but it was of "very indifferent quality".³ Owen soon succeeded in improving on this, according to his own story, and produced thread of the fineness of 300 hanks to the pound and above.⁴ At the same time he reorganised the Northwich mill and kept it under regular personal supervision, riding over on horseback once a fortnight.⁵

According to Owen, Drinkwater did not even take him down to the factory on his appointment, and during the period of Owen's management he seems to have visited it only three times,

¹ 17 April 1792, p. 1, col. 3.

² *Life*, p. 29.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Ibid.* pp. 34-5.

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 39.

once in order to show it to Serjeant John Pemberton Heywood of Lincoln's Inn, his son-in-law,¹ and on another occasion, to Sir William Herschel (1738-1822), the famous astronomer.² Note that rather confusingly Owen states on three separate occasions, first, that Drinkwater "never came to the mill" (p. 29), meaning that he was not in the habit of doing so, secondly, that "he came only three times during the four years I retained the management of it" (p. 31), and lastly, "Mr. Drinkwater . . . for three years had once only been to his factory in Manchester" (p. 41).

In 1790, the year in which Drinkwater's Piccadilly Factory commenced operations, William Kelly, the manager of David Dale's cotton mills at New Lanark in Scotland,³ applied water-power to Crompton's hand-mule, and in 1793 John Kennedy of Manchester made a successful attempt to spin fine yarn, say from 100 hanks to the pound and upwards, by using an improved mule driven by steam power. In connection with this Kennedy says of Drinkwater and Owen :

Mr. Drinkwater of Manchester, was the most extensive fine spinner at the time of which I speak. He was one of the early water spinners,⁴ and in possession of the most perfect system of roving making. His large mill in Piccadilly was filled with mules of 144 spindles, each of which was worked by men's hands. Mr. Owen was then his manager and they came to see the new machine in 1793. They approved of it and thought it practical. Mr. Humphries,⁵ of Glasgow, who was a good mechanic, and succeeded Mr. Owen as manager . . . got instructions to apply this system of power to his fine work produced by the mules in Piccadilly mill; and to make its advantages available he coupled these 144 [-spindle mules] together. . . .⁶

¹ *Life*, p. 31. Heywood married Drinkwater's daughter Margaret in 1797 (Drinkwater and Fletcher, op. cit. pp. 84-5, *Manchester Mercury*, 18 April 1797, p. 4).

² *Life*, p. 31.

³ One of Owen's first acts on taking over the managing partnership of New Lanark in 1799-1800 was to get rid of Kelly and the other co-manager, James Dale, David Dale's half-brother, because they "were incompetent to comprehend my views, or assist me in my plans" (*Life*, p. 59).

⁴ An obvious reference to the Northwich mill.

⁵ His full name was Robert Humphreys (R. Humphreys to B. and W., 14 October 1797).

⁶ John Kennedy, *A brief memoir of Samuel Crompton* . . ., pp. 27-8. Owen later gave Humphreys the post of manager at New Lanark (*Life*, p. 59). See below, p. 98.

It is not generally known that a number of short letters and several invoices written by Owen in his capacity as manager of the Piccadilly Factory have survived and are the earliest known documents in his handwriting. Two of them, dated 4 and 14 March 1793, are in the Boulton and Watt Collection in Birmingham. They are addressed to Boulton and Watt and give an order for a new boiler for the factory steam engine, which was to be made at John Wilkinson's ironworks at Bersham near Wrexham. It was transported by sea from Chester to Runcorn in the Mersey estuary and then brought up the Bridgewater canal via Preston Brook to Manchester.

An invoice made out by Owen, together with a short note was once in the Oldknow MSS.¹ It is dated 3 December 1793, and shows that Samuel Oldknow, the celebrated muslin manufacturer and cotton spinner of Stockport and Mellor (1756-1828) had ordered 5 lb. of 100 mule twist, 5 lb. of 105 mule twist and 19 lb. of 105 mule twist in cops. Owen added a short note :

The yarn as above was this day sent by Jenkinson, hope you will receive it in good condition and find the quality to your satisfaction. Mr. D[rinkwater] has not positively determined upon the price ; when he does, I will send you the account,

Your obedt. servt.

Piccadilly Factory.

Robt. Owen.

The Jenkinson referred to was Aaron Jenkinson, carrier, of Meal Street, off Fountain Street, who maintained a service between Manchester and Stockport. The *Manchester Directory* of 1794 noted of Jenkinson that he " comes in and goes out every day, Sundays excepted ".²

A search of the Oldknow MSS. in the John Rylands Library revealed a similar invoice, unsigned, but almost certainly in Owen's handwriting :

¹ The author is greatly indebted to Mr. A. P. Wadsworth, Editor of the *Manchester Guardian*, for supplying a copy of this document from his notes.

² John Scholes, *Manchester Directory* (1794), p. 198.

Mr. Samuel Oldknow

Manchester, 20 July 1793.

Bot. of Peter Drinkwater.

	[s][d]	
2 $\frac{5}{8}$ 5 lbs. Mule Twist No. 112	24/4	£6 1 8
2 $\frac{3}{4}$ 5 lbs. Mule Twist No. 124	28/9	7 3 9
3 $\frac{1}{4}$ 4 lbs. Mule Twist No. 150	40/2	8 0 8
3 $\frac{1}{2}$ 4 lbs. Mule Twist No. 160	45/8	9 2 8
		30 8 9
Deduct for reeling		8 9
		30 0 0
Box		3 0
		£30 3 0

This item is interesting in that it shows Owen producing twist of the fineness of 160 a year after taking over the management.¹

The following document was also at one time in the Oldknow MSS. : ²

Manchester 30 Oct. 1793

Mr. Samuel Oldknow,

Bought of Peter Drinkwater
10 lbs Twist in Cops No. 110
10 lbs Do No. 122

D 15

Mr. Saml. Oldknow,

465

Sir,

The above were intended for the exact nos. which you wanted, but upon trial found them to vary two hanks ; if they are not sufficiently near to your order, on returning them, in a few days you shall have the Nos. required,

Remaining for

Peter Drinkwater

Your humble servant

Piccadilly Factory

Robt. Owen

30 Oct. 1793

¹ Owen claimed to have been, in the early 1790s, the first British master cotton spinner to use United States Sea Island cotton (*Life*, pp. 32-4). The Oldknow MSS. also show that mule twist was not the only commodity with which Drinkwater supplied Oldknow, as the collection contains a bill, dated 9 November 1793, recording the sale to Oldknow by Drinkwater of 4 fat cows for £35 15s.

² It is given here by the courtesy of Mr. J. R. L. Anderson of the *Manchester Guardian*, who owns a printed facsimile of it.

Samuel Oldknow's ambitious projects were responsible for Owen leaving Drinkwater's service. A match was in process of being arranged, presumably in 1794, between Miss Eliza Drinkwater¹ and Oldknow, who wished to have complete control over Peter Drinkwater's cotton-spinning interests.² Now when Owen had completed six months service as manager by the autumn of 1792, Drinkwater sent for him and promised him £400 per annum during his second year as manager, £500 during his third year, and in the autumn of 1795 Owen was to become a partner in the business with Thomas and John Drinkwater,³ the merchant's young sons. Owen and Drinkwater signed an agreement to this effect.⁴ Owen's promised partnership, however, stood in the way of what Owen called Oldknow's plans for "exclusive dealing with Mr. Drinkwater's property", for which he had "extensive views and arrangements".⁵ In the course of 1794 Owen was accordingly summoned to Drinkwater's country residence, which Owen calls in his *Life* "Newal House". This is obviously a mistake for Irwell House. Whether the error was due to Owen or the printer it is impossible to say. At Irwell House, Drinkwater explained the position to him and asked Owen to cancel the agreement signed by both the men some time during the autumn of 1792. In return Owen was to name his own salary as manager. Owen replied by throwing his copy of the agreement in the fire and announcing his intention of

¹ She eventually married, in 1809, Capt. (later Col.) George d'Aguilar, who became Deputy Adjutant-General, Dublin (*Manchester Mercury*, 19 Dec. 1809, p. 4; Drinkwater and Fletcher, op. cit. pp. 84-5).

² *Life*, pp. 39-41. Professor George Unwin was wrong in surmising that the Drinkwater-Oldknow partnership was being mooted in 1792 (*Samuel Oldknow and the Arkwrights* (1924), p. 152). The partnership into which Oldknow entered in 1792 was with Peter Ewart (1767-1842). It was dissolved in 1793 (*Memoirs and Proceedings of the Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society*, 2nd ser., vol. vii (1846)—"A biographical notice of the late Peter Ewart, Esq.", by W. C. Henry, pp. 120-5).

³ R. and W. Dean, *Directory of Manchester* (1804), p. 52; A. Redford, *Manchester Merchants and Foreign Trade, 1794-1858*, p. 64.

⁴ *Life*, pp. 31-2. Owen's unreliability is further shown by the fact that he refers to this event as taking place in 1790! (*Life*, p. 32).

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 41.

quitting Drinkwater's service. He eventually relented somewhat, but only as far as promising to stay on temporarily until he had chosen a suitable successor in the management of the Piccadilly Factory. This was Robert Humphreys of Glasgow mentioned above.¹ According to Owen it was "many months" or "nearly a year" before Humphreys became available. Owen is vague on this point: "I left Mr. Drinkwater in 1794 or 5";² but the evidence suggests that his departure took place in 1794.³ It seems likely, therefore, that Owen was in Drinkwater's service for about two and a half years, rather than the four years of his own statement. An alternative explanation is that he remained Drinkwater's manager well into 1795, but was at the same time actively engaged in the affairs of his new partnership with Scarth and Moulson.⁴

Of Drinkwater's later activities little is known. Owen states, for what it is worth, that "Mr. Drinkwater became dissatisfied with the business, sold the factory, and Mr. Humphries lost his situation". Owen implied that these events occurred about 1800-1.⁵ Drinkwater died on Sunday, 15 November 1801, either at Hayes, in Middlesex, near Uxbridge, or at St. Albans, Herts. (the newspapers differ). They are agreed, however, that he was on his way to London from Manchester at the time, and Cowdroy's *Manchester Gazette* adds: "His death was awfully sudden." Thus died Peter Drinkwater in the sixtieth year of his age.⁶

Owen found little difficulty in making a fresh start; it soon became generally known that he was leaving Drinkwater's service, and Owen writes:

¹ *Life*, pp. 41-2. According to Owen, Humphreys "could not keep up to the quality of yarns" attained by Owen (op. cit. p. 59).

² *Ibid.*, p. 42.

³ See *Life*, p. 68, where Owen refers to certain happenings towards the end of 1794 as taking place "between my leaving Mr. Drinkwater and my commencement as a partner in the Chorlton Twist Company".

⁴ Owen was definitely in close touch with Moulson by the end of 1794 (see *Life*, p. 65).

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 59.

⁶ *Manchester Mercury*, 24 Nov. 1801; *Manchester Gazette*, 21 Nov. 1801; *Gentleman's Magazine* (1801), part ii, p. 1150. For further glimpses of Drinkwater, see *Manchester Mercury*, 4 Aug. 1795, p. 4, col. 4 and 6 Mar. 1798, p. 1, cols. 1 and 2.

Mr. Samuel Marsland, who with others had purchased the Chorlton Estate, near Manchester, with the view of building a new town upon it, applied to me and said he was going to build extensive mills upon this property, and if I would join him in partnership he would find the capital and give me one third of the profits.¹

Owen, who now had more confidence in his abilities, declined this offer, because, according to his own story, he was not offered half the profits, much to his regret later on. Possibly the real reason was the fact that he would not have had sufficient power. Instead he entered into a much more unfavourable partnership with Jonathan Scarth and Richard Percival Moulson of Manchester, "two young men, inexperienced in the business, although they had capital", as he was to write later. This partnership, which must be distinguished from the Chorlton Twist Company of 1796, was to undertake the erection of cotton mills on land purchased from Samuel Marsland and Company. Owen was to be the general manager and each partner was to have one-third of the profits. This arrangement appears to have lasted about a year.²

Again we are able to supplement Owen's account with material from the Boulton and Watt Collection. In the latter part of 1795 Owen visited Soho and agreed to purchase a Boulton and Watt rotary steam engine for £1,492, for the purpose of driving the machinery in the proposed new cotton factory in Cambridge Street, off Oxford Road. The steam-engine agreement, ante-dated to 2 October 1795 and signed by the three partners, may still be seen in Birmingham Public Library. The collection there also contains the following letter from Owen to Boulton and Watt :

¹ *Life*, p. 42.

² *Ibid.*, p. 42. Moulson gave his address as Dolefield in 1792, when, together with Owen, he signed the declaration published by a numerous body of "Protestant Dissenters, Inhabitants of the Towns of Manchester and Salford". The gist of the declaration ran : "... we are steadily and affectionately attached to the British Constitution, consisting of King, Lords, and Commons . . . fully confident that a Constitution, thus formed, will not fail to redress every real grievance, and effect every necessary improvement" (*Manchester Herald*, 29 Dec. 1792). Its purpose was to disassociate the moderate Dissenters from the extreme Radicals and the "fellow-travellers" whose sympathies lay with the French Republicans.

Messrs. Boulton and Watt.

Gentlemen,

We have concluded to have an engine of 30 horses power and with the advice of Mr. Lowe to fix it at the end of all the buildings, within side the factory ; we intend soon to send you a ground plan with the elevation of the buildings and a plan of the Chorlton Lands. We shall be much obliged by having the engine forwarded as early in the spring as you possibly can.

We are,

Respectfully yours,

Robt. Owen & Co.

Chorlton Hall,
Manchester. [27] Oct. '95.¹

Contrary to what we should expect from Owen's account, Samuel Marsland had made the first approach to Boulton and Watt respecting the installation of the engines, and in addition was financing the industrial development of his "trading estate" by finding half the cost of the engine. Indeed James Watt, jun., wrote to Marsland on 10 December 1795 asking him whether, in view of the fact that he was to guarantee half the cost of the engine, he wished his name to appear as a partner in the steam engine agreement. Marsland's connection with Messrs. Moulson, Scarth and Owen was, however, "of a private nature" and his name was not included in the agreement.²

The engine was evidently not set to work until 1796 was far advanced,³ by which time the financial crisis of the winter of 1796-7 loomed ahead. For Robert Owen and Company the trouble started with their Scots customers, who were eager buyers of the fine thread and yarn which Owen knew so well how to produce. The following letter tells its own story :

¹ This was "of a larger size than the common run of rotative engines" (James Watt, jun. to Robert Owen and Co., 18 December 1795). For Owen's residence at Chorlton Hall, see *Life*, pp. 48-9. In John Scholes, *Manchester Directory* (1797), p. 94, there is an entry: "Owen, Robert, merchant and manufacturer, factory and warehouse, Cambridge Street, [off] Oxford Street; house, 2, Cooper Street." See also *ibid.*, p. 27.

² James Watt, jun. to Robert Owen and Co., 18 December 1795. The 31-inch cylinder for the engine, cast and bored by John Wilkinson at Bersham, was "one of the most perfect that ever passed through our hands" (*ibid.*).

³ M. R. Boulton to Owen, Scarth and Co., 18 February 1796. According to Owen two or three years elapsed "... before the new Chorlton mill was at work" (*Life*, p. 42).

Messrs. Boulton and Watt.

Manchester, 15th Oct., 1796.

Gentlemen,

We should have answered yours of the 22nd. ult[im]o had we not been in daily expectation of Mr. Marsland paying us for his proportion of the engine which he at present does not find it convenient to do. From the great scarcity of money in Scotland we have been disappointed in getting bills discounted as usual and even prolonging the credit to six months, which lays us under the unpleasing necessity of remitting you a bill at that period drawn on W[illia]m and R[ichar]d[so]n Borradaile and Co. for £1,527. 10. 8. We, however, hope you will not find much inconvenience in paying it away.¹

We assure you that nothing but the great scarcity of money in the commercial world would have induced us to ask for a longer credit than the time first mentioned, but if you think the bill at too long a date (though we did not expect your invoice would have been dated so early) we must allow you what you may deem adequate for the time.

Your acknowledgement per return of post will oblige,

Gentlemen,

Your obdt. Servts.,

Thomas Atkinson for

The Chorlton Twist Co.

The name Thomas Atkinson brings us to the last chapter in the story of Owen's business enterprises in Manchester—the Chorlton Twist Company, fine cotton spinners (1796-1800). This seems to have been a highly successful enterprise.² In his *Life* Owen wrote :

... while the mills were erecting, a new arrangement was made ... with those two rich old established houses, Messrs. Borrodale and Atkinson, of London, and Messrs. Bartons of Manchester, with whom and myself a new partnership was formed ... the "Chorlton Twist Company", under my management, assisted by Thomas Atkinson, a brother of the one in the firm of Borrodale and Atkinson.³

¹ The bill was drawn by Borradaile and Atkinson of Salford on William and Richardson Borradaile of London (James Watt, jun. to Chorlton Twist Co., 13 October 1796). Boulton and Watt usually stipulated payment in bills at two months' date.

² Soon after Owen left Manchester for New Lanark towards the end of 1799 or early in 1800 the Chorlton Twist Company's mill was bought by Messrs. Birley and Hornby of Blackburn, former customers of the firm (*Life*, p. 64).

³ *Life*, p. 42. On 13 January 1798 Moulson withdrew from the Chorlton Twist Company, which then consisted of Owen, Atkinson and Scarth. Later in the year Matthew Chitty Marshall became a partner in the firm, but he and Scarth withdrew on 9 August 1798 leaving Owen and Atkinson as the sole remaining partners in the concern (*Manchester Mercury*, 23 Jan., 18 Sept. 1798).

Messrs. Barton were wholesale merchants and cotton manufacturers of No. 6 Phoenix Street, Manchester.¹ The Borradaile connection is rather more complicated and certainly more interesting. Messrs. Borradaile and Atkinson were hat manufacturers of Greengate, Salford, in the 1790s, but the London headquarters of the firm operated from 34 Fenchurch Street (and, later, from 14 St. Helen's Place) as William and Richardson Borradaile and John Atkinson, merchants and hat manufacturers.² This was entirely concerned with dealing in furs and exporting hats; and we know from other evidence that in 1812 Messrs. W. and R. Borradaile of London were ship-owners and managing directors of at least one East Indiaman.³ And so the wheel had come full circle. Drinkwater had entered the cotton industry with profits accumulated in foreign commerce. Later, in 1796, Owen, after trying unsuccessfully to carry on in the cotton industry with the backing of Marsland's real estate venture, was forced to fall back on the support of a firm which was securely based on the foundation of a profitable overseas trade.

¹ *Manchester Directory* (1794), p. 11; (1800), p. 13.

² Barfoot and Wilkes, *op. cit.* vol. i, p. 80; vol. iii, p. 797; W. Lowndes, *London Directory* (1791), p. 25; Critchett and Woods, *Post Office (London) Directory* (1816), p. 37; Johnston's *London Commercial Guide* (1817), cols. 186, 425.

³ C. N. Parkinson, *Trade in the Eastern Seas, 1793-1813* (1937), p. 188. According to Owen, John Barton, John Atkinson and Robert Owen agreed in the summer of 1797 to purchase the New Lanark mills from David Dale for £60,000, payable at the rate of £3,000 *per annum* for twenty years (*Life*, pp. 52-3).

INDIVIDUALITY OF THOUGHT

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Introduction

IN a previous paper¹ I suggested that two important qualities of thought are commonly overlooked, namely: (i) its historical character, (ii) its individual distinctiveness. In the present paper I propose to consider in more detail the second of these qualities.

In the psychological study of thought we are not concerned with the logical, moral or social quality of the final product of thinking, but primarily with its mode of development and operation. It is not the business of the psychologist to classify the "ripe apples" of thought. Nor does historical or causal analysis of the end-product of thought provide any criterion of its value. We may enquire, as Piaget² has done, whether there are laws governing the changing structures of thought through different stages from birth to maturity, or we may study particular ideas or systems of ideas and trace their origin and manner of growth. It is this second problem which I wish here to discuss.

Since there can be no thoughts without a thinker, thinking must be taken to mean some *person-thinking*. The form of one's thought, the sort of explanation or suggestion that occurs to a person's mind, the specific hypothesis he entertains or feels moved to explore, and the amount of effort he exerts, must, we may assume, be characteristic of him as an individual with a distinctive life history. For the psychologist, everything a person says or does must be seen as an item in a context, the context of personal history and present situation.³ In seeking

¹ J. Cohen, "Ontogenesis of Thought", *Psychiatry*, vol. xv (1952), pp. 27-31.

² J. Piaget, *The Psychology of Intelligence* (London, 1950).

³ E. Mayo, *The Psychology of Pierre Janet* (London, 1951), p. 21.

an illustration we are reminded of an incident recorded by Plutarch in his *Life of Alexander*. King Darius had offered Alexander ten thousand talents and certain territories as ransom for prisoners of war. Parmenio, the friend of Alexander, advised his master: "If I were Alexander I would accept the offer", to which Alexander replied: "So would I if I were Parmenio." Plutarch tells us that Longinus described Alexander's reply as something great and sublime.

It need not be denied that one stage in the development of many theories and inventions is often a collaborative effort. But this is usually during the early phases. It is comparatively rare for a notable discovery to be the joint product of two or more investigators working together. This may be partly due, as W. B. Cannon¹ has suggested, to the strong individualism which often marks the expert investigator. Those instances in which two minds have independently made the same original contribution to science or announced the same theory as, for instance, Darwin and Wallace, illustrate the infrequent situation in which a common climate of thought is at least as important a factor as biographical distinctiveness. It is perhaps possible for productive thinking to occur in groups of people working as a unit,² but the final act of discovery is bound to be an individual achievement.

Is Individuality susceptible of Scientific Study?

It may be said that the personal and individual character of thought, being unique, is of no concern to a scientific psychology the task of which is to establish statistical laws which presuppose repeatable events. This view seems to me to be based on a false antithesis. The point at issue has been debated at least since Windelband³ attempted to distinguish between generalizing (nomothetic) and individualizing (idiographic) sciences. Among the protagonists of the possibility of a true idiographic

¹ W. B. Cannon, *The Way of an Investigator* (New York, 1945), p. 14.

² J. Cohen, "Social Thinking", *Acta Psychol.*, vol. ix (Hague, 1953), pp. 146-58.

³ W. Windelband, *Geschichte und Naturwissenschaft* (Strasbourg, 1904) (republished in *Präjudien*, Tübingen, 1907).

science of psychology Lewin¹ and G. W. Allport² have been specially prominent. Lewin's solution was designed to bridge the gap between descriptions of individual events and the formulation of general principles. He denied that frequency had anything to do with "lawfulness". Allport, on the other hand, distinguished between actuarial and psychological laws. Psychological causation, he declared, is always personal, never actuarial. Let us take an example of the kind considered by Allport. Suppose that for twenty consecutive years 70 per cent. of the children in the top class of a primary class have won scholarships. Provided the conditions remain much the same, we can predict with confidence that in the twenty-first year about 70 per cent. will again succeed. As Allport correctly states, it does not follow that each child has a 70 per cent. chance of success. If we knew all the relevant influences affecting a given child, we should be able to make a perfect prediction. But we should still presumably arrive at the figure of 70 per cent. There is no incompatibility therefore between personal causation and actuarial prediction.

The antithesis seems to disappear if we accept the view of Reichenbach³ that statistical laws are simply general forms of causal laws, which are themselves special instances of perfect correlation. "Necessary" must be taken to mean "always". We need not therefore segregate psychology from other disciplines on the alleged ground that it is only concerned with unique events; any one physical event for that matter is unique and in this respect does not differ from personal or historical events. Nor need we say that psychology should be restricted to nomothetic studies. The logic of explanation is the same for individualizing and generalizing sciences alike and consists in showing that the nature of the event is such that general relationships could, in principle, be established.

¹ K. Lewin, "Field Theory and Learning," *Forty-first Year Book, National Society for the Study of Education* (Chicago, 1942), pp. 215-42.

² G. W. Allport, "The Use of Personal Documents in Psychological Science", *Bull. Soc. Sci. Res. Council*, no. 49 (New York, 1942).

³ H. Reichenbach, "Probability Methods in Social Science", in D. Lerner and H. D. Lasswell (Eds.), *The Policy Sciences* (Stanford, 1951).

Personal Elements in Philosophical and Scientific Thought

Common sense tells us that a man's personality is reflected in the kind of philosophy he creates. Fichte¹ accepted the common-sense view when he wrote: "The kind of philosophy a man chooses depends upon the kind of man he is. For a philosophic system is no piece of dead furniture one can acquire and discard at will. It is animated with the spirit of the man who possesses it." Gasset² expressed a similar view in speaking of those historians of philosophy who describe systems of thought as though they had emanated from the minds of "Unknown Philosophers", anonymous and abstract creatures outside time and space: "into the phrase 'Kant's philosophy' Kant enters not in the concrete rôle of the person who did the philosophizing but as an adventitious name connected with a philosophy. Yet the true and real philosophy of Kant is inseparable from the man."

Cassirer,³ however, takes a different view. He argues that the individuality of a philosopher does not impress its stamp on his ideas, and he supports this statement by referring to the profound mutual understanding that existed between Kant and Rousseau, who seemed to be poles apart in temperament as well as in social rank. Kant, the stern and Spartan thinker, dreading change of any kind contrasts hugely with Rousseau who could write only in the intoxication of passion and wanderlust. But in the case of *scientific* discovery he concedes elsewhere⁴ that it "bears the stamp of the individual mind of its author. In it we find not merely a new objective aspect of things but also an individual attitude of mind and even a personal style." But while this is of psychological interest it has no systematic relevance. Furthermore, "in the objective content of science these individual features are *forgotten and effaced*, for one of the principal aims of scientific thought is the elimination of all

¹ J. G. Fichte, *Sämtliche Werke*, vol. i, p. 434 (quoted by E. Cassirer in *The Problem of Knowledge* (New Haven, 1950).

² J. Ortega y Gasset, *Concord & Liberty* (New York, 1946), pp. 97-8.

³ E. Cassirer, *Rousseau, Kant, Goethe* (Princeton, 1945), p. 55.

⁴ E. Cassirer, *Essay on Man* (Yale, 1945), p. 228.

personal and anthropomorphic ideas" (my italics). The expression "forgotten and effaced" is perhaps misleading. Individual features may be irrelevant when we come to evaluate the content of science but they constitute in themselves a legitimate subject for scientific study the results of which will provide a different content. The psychology of thought cannot afford to forget and efface the personal factors which lead to the discovery of impersonal content.

Consider, for example, the discovery of "imaginary quantities" in mathematics. As I have elsewhere suggested¹ this illustrates in striking fashion the personal distinctiveness of ideas even in the realm of number. For centuries the apparent absurdity of the expression $x = \sqrt{-1}$ prevented its use by Hindu and Arab mathematicians as a root of the equation $x^2 + 1 = 0$. It was not until the year 1545 that someone bold enough appeared who had the intellectual courage to face this situation. This was the Italian mathematician Cardan, who deliberately committed the absurdity. We are indebted to Hadamard² for reminding us that Cardan was a man of strange and wild temperament. Far from forgetting and effacing this fact it is of the greatest interest for us if we wish to know why Cardan and not anyone else discovered "imaginary quantities", which, indeed, bear the mark of his personal style and character. The fact that imaginaries now constitute part of the objective content of mathematical science does not debar the study of their psychological origin from qualifying as a legitimate subject of scientific enquiry.

The same relationship between a man's ideas and his character is illustrated in the life of Jeremy Bentham, and here the relationship is expressed not simply in one idea but in his entire life's work. We are told³ that Bentham was never interested in real problems of life. What he worried about was rather the "mechanism of living" and "his reforms were a series of political gadgets". This acquires a new meaning when we

¹ See footnote 1, p. 103.

² J. Hadamard, *The Psychology of Invention in the Mathematical Field* (Princeton, 1949), p. 135.

³ E. L. Woodward, *The Age of Reform, 1815-1870* (London, 1938).

read what John Stuart Mill¹ had to say about Bentham: "He (Bentham) had neither internal experience nor external. . . . He never knew prosperity and adversity, passion nor satiety: he never had even the experiences which sickness gives; He knew no dejection, no heaviness of heart. He never felt life a sore and weary burden. He was a boy to the last."

It would no doubt be pertinent to consider here the problem of vocational choice in all its vast diversity. Why, for instance, does a man become a gynaecologist and spend his life probing the minute parts of female genitalia? Clearly this cannot be "explained" in terms of conscious reasons or motives alone; the causal mechanisms assumed by analytic theory must also be invoked. Let us take one more example from scientific thought. It has been suggested² that Ehrlich's early passion for bright colours may have stimulated his absorbing interest in the study of dyes, thus influencing in powerful fashion the entire course of his intellectual activity.

We can illustrate the same effect in drama by reference to Voltaire. "If you render Voltaire less sensitive to criticism", said Diderot,³ "he will no longer be able to penetrate the soul of *Meropé*."

Proust⁴ showed the same profound insight in the following passage:

A man who falls into bed like a log, and lies there as though dead until he awakes in the morning when it is time to get up, can never expect to make—I won't say discoveries of major importance—but even a few comments on the nature of sleep. A dose of insomnia is of no little value to those who would appreciate the gift of sleep, who would seek to cast even the feeblest ray into that mysterious darkness.

I suspect that this remark was prompted by the action of a publisher who rejected Proust's great novel because he could

¹ J. S. Mill, *Dissertations and Discussions: Political, Philosophical and Historical*, vol. i (New York, 1873), pp. 379-80 (quoted by H. Morgenthau, *Scientific Man versus Power Politics* (1947), p. 199).

² W. I. B. Beveridge, *The Art of Scientific Investigation* (London, 1951), p. 138.

³ J. Stewart and J. Kemp, *Diderot: Selected Writings* (London, 1937), p. 244 (the quotation is taken from "Rameau's Nephew").

⁴ A. Maurois, *Proust: Portrait of a Genius* (New York, 1950), pp. 18, 182.

not understand why anyone needed to devote thirty pages to a description of the process of falling asleep.

Finally as an illustration of individuality expressed in content rather than form we may take an opera of Wagner. In this instance we appear to have a man who infused his private yearnings into his art without adequate transmutation. "Wagner poured into *Tristan and Isolde* his adultery with Mathilde Wesendonck, and if we want to enjoy this work we must, for a few hours, turn vaguely adulterous ourselves."¹

Forms of Intellectual Audacity

Individuality is not only expressed in the "personal style" of a particular idea, but also in the daring with which one allows oneself to contemplate it. The absurd must be divested of its uninviting character. In Faraday we see a man who was not, like Cardan, fascinated by the sheer perversity of an idea, but who enjoyed a marvellous intellectual mobility and freedom from barriers to thought. He was quite tireless in permitting himself to ponder on analogies between the known and unknown. Nothing seemed impossible to him before it had been put to the test; the most incredible things seemed credible.²

We may compare Cardan's audacity with the courage of Freud which consisted not in advancing crazy ideas but in the dispassionate analysis of material marked by a heavy social taboo. Imagine that eminent Victorian, Dr. Arnold of Rugby anticipating Freud and enunciating a sexual theory of dreams! Freud boldly unravelled the Gordian knot of convention. How different are those timid ones among us ever fearful of the impressions they may make on others and unable to resist irrelevant ideas. These "mental parasites" eventually consume our own original thoughts feebly seeking expression.

There can be no individuality of thought if one entertains only the ideas of other people and shrinks from contemplating one's own. This seems to be the meaning of Proust's parable

¹ J. Ortega y Gasset, *The Dehumanization of Art* (Princeton, 1948), p. 26.

² P. Lenard, *Great Men of Science* (London) (trans. by H. Stafford Hatfield), pp. 252-62.

L'Étranger. A gifted young man, Dominique, is always surrounded by a circle of admirers. Once when Dominique is alone a stranger comes to him and reproaches him because he receives everyone except himself. Dominique, intrigued and attracted by the stranger, promises to include him among his friends. The stranger replies: "If you receive me you must send away your usual friends." "This I cannot do", replies the young man, "because I cannot be alone." "Choose quickly", warns the stranger, even as the other guests are arriving. "Who are you?" cries out Dominique to the departing stranger. The sorrowing reply comes: "I am your soul." "I am yourself."¹

Idiosyncrasies in Habits of Work

Individuality expresses itself in idiosyncrasies of work habits. We can picture Rousseau working bare-headed in the full blaze of the sun so as to increase the flow of blood to the brain. Bossuet preferred a cold room with his head wrapped up. Schiller used to sit with his feet immersed in cold water, and his efforts seem to have been invigorated by the smell of decay—fading autumnal leaves, the sepulchral odour of the churchyard or a store of rotten apples in his desk.² Descartes and Leibnitz whilst at work placed themselves in an almost horizontal position. Bishop Lammenais walked about and followed his thoughts "in the midst of the noise of festivals as well as in silence and darkness".³ Balzac, garbed in a monk's cowl, consumed enormous quantities of fresh fruit and struggled right through the night. This continued for long periods while the inspiration lasted. Many are the famous poets and scientists who worked best at night or while lying in bed late in the morning. Some are inert and immobile or, like Beethoven, shut themselves in a room and shout and rush about like madmen.⁴ The mathematician Hadamard writes that he finds pacing up and down the room very helpful during thinking and he quotes, in this connection, Augier's remark that "legs are the wheels of thought". Apart

¹ D. Leon, *Proust: his Life, his Circle and his Work* (London, 1940).

² K. Birnbaum, *Psychopathologische Documente* (Berlin, 1920).

³ R. E. M. Harding, *An Anatomy of Inspiration* (Cambridge, 1942).

⁴ G. Humphrey, *Directed Thinking* (New York, 1948).

from individual differences in work habits or marked preferences for characteristic postures during work, there are variations in muscular tone. One person may find a tense state more conducive to intellectual effort, another may prefer a relatively relaxed condition. A third may prefer to linger and ruminate. Others are more productive during states of mental fatigue if there is at the same time a feeling of relaxation. "Happy ideas" never come to Hadamard either when he is tired or when sitting at his desk, but an hour after the fatigue of mental work has entirely passed away. Complete mental relaxation is rarely associated with intellectual activity of a high order.

Individuality in Problem-Solving

If we ask a number of people individually to carry out a certain task we usually find that there are characteristic differences in their approach. Let us take an example given by Katz¹ in a rather different connection. A nail has to be knocked into a piece of wood. If no hammer is provided one person may use a pair of pliers which is at hand. If he has no pliers he may use his shoe. In order to perceive the relevance of the shoe he must be able to "restructure" it, i.e. put aside the idea of the shoe as something to wear and see it as having a hard surface useful for hammering. This may not occur to another person who otherwise is equally intelligent. This second person may be too shy to remove his shoe (supposing that this is required), or perhaps he is finicky about handling rather dirty objects, and so the idea of "restructuring" the shoe will not occur to him.

The ability to see a situation in a new light means being free from rigidity in thinking, resourceful in evolving new hypotheses and seeing new possibilities of solving a problem when old methods fail. Some rigidity may be due to "overlearning" which tends to mechanize behaviour, reduce educability and blind one to new ways of doing things. If rats are overtrained to run a certain path towards a goal they will continue to prefer that path even when shorter ones are later made possible. Hilgard² remarks that overtraining may lead to a common adult

¹ D. Katz, *Gestalt Psychology* (New York, 1950), p. 86.

² E. R. Hilgard, *Theories of Learning* (New York, 1948), p. 340.

preference for artificial methods learnt in infancy. But here we must make a reservation. Increasing mastery of a pattern of behaviour does not invariably lead to a standard method of responding. In swimming or ice-skating, for example, it is characteristic of the novice to perform his single "act" and play safe. The expert, with greater self-assurance, varies his movements in ways barred to the beginner. So overlearning does not necessarily lead to rigidity. Whether it will or not probably depends, at least in part, on the degree of versatility achieved in alternative and associated skills.

Some preliminary experimental evidence¹ lends support to the view that rigidity in problem-solving tends to be associated with characteristic features of the personality as indicated by a Rorschach test. In the experiment a child is first asked to solve a simple problem, such as bringing a certain quantity of water in several containers of different size. This is followed by a series of similar problems which require a more complex method of solution. Finally, a third series is presented which can be solved by the simpler method if the child can overcome the "set" established while doing the intermediate problems. The experiment suggests that "rigid" and "flexible" children (i.e. those who continue to use the complex method and those who return to the simpler method) also differ in personal characteristics. "Rigid" children give fewer responses, which have a narrower content and are less well-organized. They are slower to respond and, judged by their reaction to colour and form, seem to be emotionally impoverished. There are also signs that they are more likely to act uncertainly in new situations, to avoid crises, and generally to be less well adjusted than "flexible" children.

Personal Factors and Types of Thought

If intellectual activity is an integral part of one's total personal life we should expect individuality to characterize both one's reactions to the theories of others and to leave a mark on one's own theories. We shall confine ourselves here to one or two

¹ E. L. Cowen and C. G. Thompson, "Problem-solving, Rigidity and Personality Structure", *J. Abn. Soc. Psychol.*, vol. xlv (1951), pp. 165-76.

illustrations from psychology. How can we understand Pavlov's outright rejection of Gestalt theory without assuming some profound personal antipathy to a seemingly elusive abstract concept, and a liking for the specific and concrete? He wrote: "I feel a *strong repugnance* to, and emphatically reject any theory that claims to embrace fully everything comprising our subjective world, but I cannot refrain from analysing it, from obtaining a simple understanding of it, at separate points"¹ (my italics).

The work of E. B. Titchener illustrates the way a preference for imagery of a certain kind enters into an elaborate theory as a universal property of the human mind. The following passage brings out this point:

I rely in my thinking upon visual imagery in the sense that I like to get the problem into some sort of visual schema, from which I can make my way out and to which I can return. As I read an article or the chapter of a book, I instinctively arrange the facts or arguments in some visual pattern, and I am as likely to think in terms of this pattern as I am likely to think in words. I understand, and to that extent I enjoy, an author whom I can thus visualise.²

E. C. Tolman's use of spatial models illustrates the same tendency, for he expresses a preference for kinaesthetic imagery.³ Tolman himself tacitly accepts the notion of individuality when he sees in Lewin's humanitarism an explanation of his emphasis on the *situation* in which a person is placed as the source of the causes of behaviour.⁴

When a number of individuals exhibit a tendency towards the same pattern of thought they may be said to constitute a type.⁵ Cardan's feat, for example, is of the kind that provokes the question: "how could such a strange idea enter anyone's mind?" This comment, as Hadamard⁶ writes, may be contrasted with the typical reaction to a different kind of discovery:

¹ Y. P. Frolov, *Pavlov and his School* (London, 1937).

² J. Downey, *Creative Imagination* (London, 1929), p. 38.

³ E. C. Tolman, "The Psychology of Social Learning", *J. Soc. Issues*, Suppl. Ser. No. 3 (1949).

⁴ E. C. Tolman, "Kurt Lewin: 1890-1947", *Psych. Rev.*, vol. lv (1948), pp. 1-4.

⁵ J. Cohen, "Physical Types and their Relations to Psychotic Types", *J. Ment. Sci.*, vol. 86 (1940) pp. 602-23.

⁶ J. Hadamard, *The Psychology of Inventions in the Mathematical Field* (Princeton, 1949), p. 135.

"how wonderful, but how obvious! Why did no one think of it before?" Here again we can see the effect of the individual distinctiveness of the innovator. Chesterton, who himself belonged to the second type, advised us to look at familiar objects until they look strange. Up to a point this is within everyone's competence—the former type is perhaps much more rare.

Other specimens have also been distinguished among the flora and fauna of human thinkers. F. Th. Vischer has described "subject-matter specialists" and "interpretive specialists" respectively. "The fact-greedy gullet of the former can be filled only with legal documents, statistical work-sheets and questionnaires, but he is insensitive to the refinement of a new idea. The gourmandise of the latter dulls his taste for facts by ever new intellectual subtleties."¹

The formation of types, due to occupational habits of thought, sometimes obscures a desirable individuality. Dr. Brock Chisholm, a former Director-General of the World Health Organization, has described some types of delegates to international conferences. Lawyers are often given the responsibility of cultivating official contacts but their training in rules and precedent is likely to prove a handicap. Soldiers skilled in tactical manoeuvring to gain pre-determined ends at the expense of the enemy are hardly suited for such a task. Military activity presupposes an opponent whom one has to circumvent and defeat. It does not usually teach us how to co-operate with other people who may be as sure they are right as we are. Nor does the business man's training in profit-making prepare him for situations calling for co-operative rather than competitive effort.²

Early Feelings and Later Thought

In the previous paper referred to above³ an example was given which showed how an idea occurring to a given person at a particularly propitious time turned out to be the cognitive

¹ M. Weber, *The Methodology of Social Sciences* (Illinois, 1949), p. 112.

² G. B. Chisholm, "Social Responsibility", *J. Soc. Issues*, Suppl. Ser. no. 1.

³ J. Cohen, "Ontogenesis of Thought", *Psychiatry*, vol. xv (1952), pp. 27-31.

expression of deeply felt experiences during the years of childhood. Without the assumption of individuality in thought it would be difficult to account for the fact that this person and not one of the two hundred others who were present at the time had this particular idea. The example brings to mind the remark of Claude Bernard that feeling always takes the initiative in thought. If so, it is a methodological error in the study of thought to disconnect it from feeling. It is an error characteristic of the obsessive mind which, by ignoring the affective sources of thought, renders its study an impossible task.

We arrive at the same conclusion by a study of the way experiences in early life may affect creative writing in later years. Such a study has been made of the poetry of Keats with reference to its countless allusions to food.¹ One readily recalls such phrases as "roots of relish sweet and honey wild and manna dew", "Canary wine", "juicy pears", "dainty pies", "ripening fruits", "honey crammed cells", "oozing cider press". The poet W. B. Yeats compared Keats to a starving child pressing his nose against a bakery window. In his poems, sucking, eating and erotic experience merge into one. All his heroines are associated with food. We cannot digress here to speculate on the origin of these oral preoccupations. It suffices to suggest that we are not dealing here with a mere coincidence, but rather with the working-out in poetic art of deep-lying early experiences specific to Keats alone.

Freud's experience provides an interesting example of early intellectual influences on later thought. When he was 14 years old he was given a present of the works of Ludwig Börne, who had devised a recipe on how to become an original writer in three days. The instructions were to write down for three days everything that comes into the head without falsification or hypocrisy. Ernest Jones,² who tells us about this, suggests that the experience may have been the germ of Freud's later discovery of the technique of free association.

¹ H. G. McCurdy, "La Belle Dame Sans Merci", *Char. & Pers.*, vol. xiii (1944), pp. 166-77.

² E. Jones, *Sigmund Freud: Life and Work* (London, 1953).

The Role of Detachment in Thinking

The capacity to observe in a fresh and original way is likely to depend to some extent on being able to discriminate between a situation as it is perceived by others and as it is perceived by us. This implies becoming aware of our "personal context".¹ Such an awareness is likely to increase our sensitivity to our data in relation to ourselves and to put us on our guard against distortion, over-valuation and projection. If the introduction of technical expressions will not obscure the issue, the point may be put in this way: we have to distinguish a private or perceptual structure from a social structure, if we are dealing with a human problem, and from a reality situation, if we are confronted with a physical problem. The degree of personal involvement may be so slight as not to mar a realistic grasp of a given situation. Or it may be so intense as to lead to a misreading or misrepresentation of the facts. The feeling of anxiety in relation to any topic may lead to selective inattention or banish it from awareness altogether.

The place of detachment in productive thinking has a prominent place in Gestalt theory. According to this theory the thinker must ignore what he wants to happen, if he wishes to get at the root of a problem. He must forget about himself and allow his thinking to follow the structural requirements of the situation. He has to become an "obstetrician" and extract the solution from the "matrix" in which it is embedded. If his personal needs dominate his thinking, he may attempt a short-cut solution where a detour is objectively required. This view seems to imply that complete impersonal detachment from the possible outcome of one's enquiries is an essential condition of productive thinking. It is hard to accept this if it means that the thinker must be *indifferent* to the results of his investigations. An optimal emotional involvement is not the same as apathy or neutrality. The characteristic feature of the scientific investigator, for example, is not aloofness but a willingness to recognize when a particular result cannot be obtained by one method and

¹ F. F. Lombard, "Self Awareness and Scientific Method", *Science*, vol. cxii (1950), 289-93.

a readiness to try out other methods instead.¹ Scientific method does not demand an absence of intention to try and reach a particular result. Many scientists have eagerly sought to confirm their favoured hypothesis and any sign to the contrary has brought sharp disappointment. If enthusiasm is unbounded, there is, of course, a danger of blinding oneself to the shortcomings of a theory. In general, the greater the desire to reach a given result, the greater the care that must be taken to avoid overlooking errors.

In problems which require a detour rather than a short-cut method for their solution, it is useless to increase the attractiveness of the goal. This would make the task more difficult. For the more attractive the goal, the harder it is to move away from it and make a detour. Expectation of too great a reward or punishment, by transfixing the attention, may therefore hamper performance. There is then little scope for freedom of choice between alternatives. That is what tends to happen in a crisis. When the valence of the goal deviates from the optimal, conditions do not favour a correct grasp of the entire situation.

Nothing is more likely to endanger intellectual mobility than an undue attachment to one's own settled point of view. The thinker who keeps to his own ideas too long has been compared to a hen sitting on boiled eggs. This is what Claude Bernard probably meant when he said that "those who have excessive faith in their ideas are not fitted to make discoveries", and Souriau's observation that "in order to invent one must think aside", embodies a similar thought.

Because a task which is easy for one person is hard for another its performance probably requires a degree of motivation which varies from person to person. Many experiments supporting this view have been carried out since the Yerkes-Dodson law was suggested some forty years ago. In their experiments "motivation" is induced at various levels of intensity and the habits to be formed vary in their level of difficulty, the aim being to determine the optimal level of motivation for learning. In one experiment, for example, rats had to distinguish between stimuli

¹ L. Hogben, *The Retreat from Reason* (London, 1936), p. 9.

varying in brightness, an electric shock being given for incorrect discrimination. The shock could be relatively mild, moderate or severe and the discrimination also varied in difficulty. Experiments with human subjects have studied the effects of weak and strong shock on the speed and accuracy of sorting. The conclusion seems to follow, at any rate for these simple and artificial laboratory situations, that the easier the habit to be acquired (or the task to be carried out) the higher is the level of motivation required. There is an optimal strength of motivation for each level of difficulty.

As Young¹ has suggested, some practical lessons may be drawn from these experiments. If the same task is easy for brighter pupils and hard for duller ones, the motivation to be induced must vary with the difficulty of the task for each pupil. A threat of punishment may severely disturb the dull child instead of evoking his best efforts. Again, the more exacting or delicate a task, the easier it is to disrupt it. An interruption or noise which would have no effect on the operator of a pneumatic drill is liable to drive an intellectual worker to distraction. This helps us to understand why a famous conductor once violently threw his baton at his orchestra when someone played a false note.

Summary

An attempt has been made in this paper to show that thinking has an individual distinctiveness which is characteristic of the thinker. Just as a place for a *perceiver* is needed in a theory of perception so room must be left for a *thinker* in a theory of thought. The fact that each act of thought is unique does not remove it outside the bounds of scientific study any more than the uniqueness of an earthquake, or for that matter, any physical event, debars it from scientific analysis. In considering psychological factors that may affect preferences for different philosophical systems a distinction must be made between the impersonal formal content of the final system and the factors that led to the construction or choice of such a system.

¹ P. T. Young, *Motivation of Behaviour* (New York, 1943), pp. 280-7.

In general it may be supposed that a relationship exists between the character of a person and the kind of theory he chooses. Types of intellectual boldness have been described and idiosyncrasies of work-habit illustrated. The way individual differences might be expected to affect the approach to a problem or to the invention of a theory has been briefly indicated. Finally, the relation between feeling and thought has been touched upon and an effort made to clarify the problem of optimal detachment in thinking.

SIR ROGER BRADSHAIGH, 3RD BARONET, AND
THE ELECTORAL MANAGEMENT OF WIGAN,
1695-1747

By MARJORIE COX, M.A.

I

AMONG the Crawford MSS. deposited in the John Rylands Library is a collection of Bradshaigh papers which include correspondence and documents throwing light on the electoral management of the borough of Wigan during the period 1695 to 1747, when Sir Roger Bradshaigh, the third baronet, represented the town in parliament. The fullest evidence, that of the letters of Bradshaigh's fellow-member, Lord Barrymore, and of his legal adviser, Alexander Leigh, is for the Hanoverian period, from 1715 onwards, but there are copies of the polls at Wigan in the elections of 1695, 1701, 1702, and 1708, and a number of legal papers, which make it possible, with the help of the Kenyon MSS., to reconstruct an outline of electoral affairs before 1715.¹ Wigan, at the end of the seventeenth century, was "a pretty market town built of stone and brick": it had flourishing industries of brass and pewter manufacture, blanket and rug making and bell-casting.² In the first few

¹ For the bulk of the material used in this article I wish to thank Lord Crawford, who has not only given me permission to use the manuscripts deposited by him in the John Rylands Library, but has also kindly lent other relevant papers, including the letters of George Winstanley.

I am also indebted to Lord Kenyon for permission to use the Kenyon MSS. deposited in the Lancashire County Record Office (the printed Kenyon MSS. are in the Historical Manuscripts Commission Report, xiv. App. iv); to the Duke of Portland for the Portland MSS. deposited in the British Museum; to the Marquess of Cholmondeley for the Cholmondeley (Houghton) MSS. deposited in the Cambridge University Library; and to the Librarian of Wigan Public Library for various documents in his keeping.

² C. Morris (ed.), *The Journeys of Celia Fiennes* (1947), p. 185; Victoria County History, *Lancashire*, iv. 57-122. The parish of Wigan, which included, besides the borough, eleven townships, had a population of approximately 5,000 in the reign of George I. Bishop Gastrell, *Notitia Cestriensis*, Chetham Society (1845-50), ii, pt. 2, 242.

decades of the century, various local improvements were made or projected: an act was secured in 1720 for making the River Douglas navigable from the Ribble to Wigan, but work on the scheme was not begun until 1738, when it was completed within a few years; in 1726 acts authorized the improvement of the roads from Wigan to Warrington and to Preston.¹ Such improvements were for the benefit not only of the town, but of the surrounding coal mines. Probably the most famous of these, producing a very fine coal known as cannel, were owned by the Bradshaighs of Haigh. Haigh Hall, the Bradshaigh seat, lay about two miles north-east of Wigan in the township of Haigh, "a large and handsome building with fine gardens and plantations about it". The demesne lands totalled 500 acres in 1673, and, in addition, the Bradshaighs owned land elsewhere in the township, and land and houses in the borough of Wigan.²

The third Bradshaigh baronet attracts attention by the length of his parliamentary career and the apparent variety of his political allegiances. He sat as member for Wigan from 1695, when he was a minor, until 1747, when he was preparing, just before his death, to stand again.³ His career has usually been described as Tory until 1715, and from then Whig; but such an analysis, on a rigid two-party basis, distorts his development.⁴ In his first Parliament he was one of the extreme semi-Jacobite Tory opposition, following the lead of his guardian and fellow-member, Peter Shakerley, and the two members for Newton, Legh Bankes and Thomas Brotherton, but he

¹ R. Sharpe France, *Lancashire Acts of Parliament, 1415-1800* (1945), pp. 1 and 26; A. P. Wadsworth and J. de L. Mann, *The Cotton Trade and Industrial Lancashire, 1600-1780* (1931), p. 216 n.

² B.M. Add. MS. 24,120, fol. 141; A. J. Hawkes, "Sir Roger Bradshaigh 1628-84", *Chetham Miscellanies*, n.s., viii (1945), 61-3.

³ Bradshaigh's pride in his long representation of Wigan is shown in his reply to Thomas Wootton's inquiry for his *Baronetage* in 1725: "... has sat in Parliament as a Member for that place ever since which is now above 32 years, this is more then can be said of any Gentleman of his age in England." B.M. Add. MS. 24,120, fol. 140. On his death *The Gentleman's Magazine* described him as "the oldest member in the house of commons", xvii. 103.

⁴ D. Sinclair, *History of Wigan*, ii. (1882), 190; W. D. Pink and A. B. Beavan, *The Parliamentary Representation of Lancashire* (1889), pp. 230-3.

seems to have stood aside from the party conflicts at the end of the reign of William III. By 1706 he had diverged from Shakerley (and from his fellow-member, Orlando Bridgeman) on the Tack, and was reckoned a Government supporter. (In the division on tacking the Occasional Conformity Bill to a Money Bill and thus forcing it through the Lords, the moderate Harleyite Tories sided with the Whigs.) He continued as such after Robert Harley and his associates had left the ministry, voting even for the impeachment of Sacheverell.¹ After the change of ministry in 1710 he corresponded assiduously with those in authority, locally and centrally, and his advice to the new Chancellor of the Duchy on local appointments served to secure for his brother, Thomas, a Duchy living in Essex.² Bradshaigh's correspondence with Robert Harley, Earl of Oxford, consists entirely of appeals for help in the form of office or more frequently of money. From June 1711 to August 1714 the letters formed an unremitting solicitation. In November 1711 he hoped for a place in the Victualling Office, and in December 1712 for Lord Fitzharding's place or any other vacant post. But persistently he begged for money: to pay debts under threat of execution of judgement during a parliamentary recess ("my house will be rifled, my self and family exposed" he wrote); to meet the expenses of a law suit "I have been long engaged in for the benefit of my corporation and to keep up my interest there"; to pay debts owing to Hoare's Bank, or to meet election expenses.³ It is not clear how much

¹ This account of Bradshaigh's voting is based on the division lists described in R. Walcott's article, "Division Lists of the House of Commons, 1689-1715", *Bull. Inst. Hist. Res.*, xiv (1937), 25-36; E. S. de Beer, "Division Lists of 1688-1715, Some Addenda", *ibid.* xix, 65-6; and for the later period on the lists in W. Cobbett's *Parliamentary History* and on information from Mr. J. B. Owen. It is possible that Bradshaigh failed to support the Government on a disputed election in December, 1741, see W. Coxe, *Memoirs of Sir Robert Walpole*, iii, pt. ii, (1798), 582-3.

² Rylands, Crawford MSS., Lord Berkeley of Stratton to Bradshaigh, 28 October 1714, and undated letter, "Monday"; P. Morant, *History of Essex*, ii. (1816), 245.

³ There are five letters from Bradshaigh to Oxford in the H.M.C. *Portland MSS.*, v. 18, 151, 327, 381 and 387, and a further twenty-two letters in the Portland MSS. in the British Museum. Fitzharding held two posts, a Teller-

in total he asked for, for the requests were not satisfied quickly, and were continuous and repetitive, but Oxford's "Account of money laid out of my own for the Queen at several times" included issues to Bradshaigh of £1,000 and £200.¹ Only one division list survives for the Parliament of 1710, that on the French Commercial Treaty, in which the Government was heavily defeated through the defection of the Whimsicals and many other Tories. Bradshaigh, however, voted with the Government on the unpopular motion, against Shakerley and Lancashire Whimsicals such as Richard Shuttleworth and Robert Heysham.

After the Hanoverian accession Bradshaigh was a constant supporter of the Government, voting for the Septennial and Peerage Bills, and after Walpole had secured power, for all the major Government measures including the Excise scheme. His status as a Government supporter after Walpole's fall was recognized by an invitation to the Cockpit meeting before the opening of the parliamentary session at the end of 1742.² Among Lancashire members, his voting aligned him with the Liverpool Government Whigs, Sir Thomas Johnson, Thomas Brereton and Richard Gildart, and with Sir Henry Hoghton, but against the members for the county and for the borough of Newton, to which the Leghs of Lyme nominated. This constant attachment to the Hanoverian Government did not secure him any office, although he seems to have had hopes between 1728 and 1730, but his reward in this period lay in the advancement of his sons.³ In analyzing the votes on the Spanish Convention in 1739, *The Gentleman's Magazine* listed Bradshaigh among the Court supporters, and commented: "His sons in the Army and at Court." His second son, Charles, held a commission in the Guards from 1726, and by 1743 had secured the post of Gentleman Usher, not, as his father had asked of Walpole ship of the Exchequer and the Treasurership of the Chamber, reputed to be worth £2,000 and £1,400 a year respectively. J. Cartwright (ed.), *The Wentworth Papers* (1883), p. 309.

¹ H.M.C. Portland MSS., v. 480.

² B.M. Add. MS. 32,699, fols. 467-8. I owe this reference to Mr. J. B. Owen.

³ Crawford MSS., Barrymore to Bradshaigh, 5 May, 22 December 1728; 18 May 1729.

in 1737, to the king, but to Princess Amelia. His youngest son, Richard, became a page to Queen Caroline at the age of twelve, and an ensign in the Guards in 1737.¹ This long parliamentary career, apart from its earliest years, is only inconsistent if looked at in the light of the antithesis between Whig and Tory; if the antithesis of Court and Country is substituted, Bradshaigh's career, at least from early in Anne's reign is consistent, and resembles that of other members, though not those representing Lancashire constituencies.

In spite of the considerable fortunes made later by the Bradshaighs in mining, Sir Roger's financial position never seems to have been easy. His grandfather's mining activities, especially the work on the Great Sough, had swallowed up "every shilling he could lay hands on", and his death and that of his son within three years, left the family finances strained. Sir Roger's grandmother lived until 1695, and was entitled to draw £200 a year from the estate, while his mother, after her husband's death, had by her marriage settlement the use of the demesne lands of Haigh, except the hall and the mines: the annual value of her jointure was estimated in 1673 at £460.² In 1714 Bradshaigh confessed to the Earl of Oxford that since his mother's death his circumstances had considerably improved.³ In 1729 his legal man of business, Alexander Leigh, for the purposes of a marriage treaty, estimated his estates at "about £1,900 a year and that, in that Computation your Cannell Mines were rated at 1000", though admitting to Sir Roger that it was an under-estimate.⁴ Nevertheless, some financial

¹ *The Gentleman's Magazine*, ix. 304; C. Dalton, *George I's Army, 1714-27*, ii (1912), 302; "The Army List of 1740", *Society for Army Historical Research*, Special no., iii (1931), pp. 4 and 13; C.U.L. Cholmondeley (Houghton) MSS. Corr., no. 2669, Bradshaigh to Walpole, 2 March 1736/7 (the signature appears to be "A. Bradshaigh" but the letter is endorsed on the back "Sir Roger Bradshagh"; E. Chamberlayne, *Magnae Britanniae Notitia*, editions of 1735 and 1743; B.M. Add. MS. 32,867, fol. 22, Richard Bradshaigh to the Duke of Newcastle, 22 August 1756, a begging letter.

² T. S. Ashton and J. Sykes, *The Coal Industry of the Eighteenth Century* (1929), p. 246; A. J. Hawkes, *op. cit.* pp. 18, 53 and 61-3.

³ B.M. Portland MSS., Bradshaigh to Oxford, 26 — 1714.

⁴ Crawford MSS., Leigh to Bradshaigh, 2 January 1729/30. The dating of the letters in the Crawford MSS. is Old Style.

embarrassment continued, and Bradshaigh failed to observe one of the conditions of his own marriage settlement, converting £3,000 to his own use instead of to the purposes laid down. At his death, he owed, besides this £3,000, £7,000 or £8,000, and left a very small personal estate, which was claimed by Benjamin Hoare, a creditor presumably representing Hoare's Bank with which Bradshaigh dealt. The family estates, however, were settled at his eldest son's marriage, and in 1742 Sir Roger, having satisfied himself that the estate qualifying him to sit in Parliament could be of £300 annual value in law or equity, gave up Haigh to his son in possession.¹

II

Between 1695 and 1708 the second member for Wigan changed frequently, and although Bradshaigh himself was always safe with the highest number of votes, the candidate whom he supported was not necessarily successful. After the withdrawal of Shakerley in 1698, the Bridgeman interest strongly contested the elections. Between a quarter and a third of Bradshaigh's supporters failed to vote for the candidate he backed in 1701 and 1702 (Emmanuel How and Sir Alexander Rigby, his old opponent, respectively), and most of these gave their second votes to Orlando Bridgeman. But when, in 1708, two Bradshaighs stood, less than a seventh of Sir Roger's voters failed to vote for his brother, Henry. Unfortunately, this strong family combination broke down with Henry's death in 1712, and in the 1713 election a quarter of Sir Roger's voters failed to vote for George Kenyon whom he backed.² An influential Wigan

¹ H.M.C. *House of Lords MSS.*, n.s., viii. 284; Crawford MSS., "State of the Case touching the Statute that Sir Roger Bradshaigh gave along with his father unto Sir John Guise": this is undated but was clearly drawn up under the 4th baronet and probably before 1749; Will of Sir Roger Bradshaigh, P. C. C. Potter 199; Administration granted to Benjamin Hoare, Esq. 18 August 1747; Indenture of 12 August 1742 in Calendar of Crawford MSS.; Crawford MSS., Leigh to Bradshaigh, 15, 29 May, 20, 26 June, 11 July, 8, 13, and 31 August 1742.

² Based on the copies of the polls in the Crawford MSS. and on that of 1713 among the Kenyon MSS., Lancashire Record Office. The second member was: 1695 Shakerley, 1698 Sir Alexander Rigby, 1701 (first Parliament) Orlando Bridgeman, 1701 (second Parliament) Rigby, 1702 Bridgeman, 1705 Emmanuel

voter explained to Kenyon, "as to yourself, I hear not any personal dislike, but only that Sir Roger should assume upon himself to impose one, without the town's consent".¹

James, 4th Earl of Barrymore, who strongly contested the election of 1713, shared the representation with Bradshaigh from 1715 to 1747, with the exception of the Parliament of 1727, and died at the age of eighty in 1748, not having stood in 1747. His son, unlike Sir Roger's, followed him in the representation until 1760. Barrymore forms a strong contrast to Bradshaigh: he was an Irish peer, and from 1714 an Irish Privy Councillor, who had followed a military career, including service in Spain in the War of the Spanish Succession. He first sat in Parliament for Stockbridge in 1710, and represented it again in 1714 instead of Richard Steele.² His voting record was the opposite of Bradshaigh's, and the political views expressed in his letters were those of the country party. In 1717 he wrote, on the occasion of the quarrel among the Whig ministers:

. . . nobody has more thorough contempt for ministers and what is call'd men in greate offices then I have. I cannot remember they ever did the true service of their contrey, they minded indeed strength'ning themselves to carry on private picks [piques] and getting as much money as they cou'd, but I have observ'd that when such people fall out, now and then some good comes on't, soe it may prove now; for which reason I wou'd not be absent at this juncture. It may bee in a man's vote at this time to doe some good which perhaps may never bee again in his power.³

There is no trace in these letters of Jacobite sentiments, indeed in 1715 Barrymore wrote from Ireland: "I pray god wee may enjoy peace and quietness and not bee troubl'd with the Scotch who whenever they enter England doe not goe back empty",

How, 1708-12 Henry Bradshaigh, April 1713-15 George Kenyon. Rigby was of local origin, though a London merchant; he was a protégé of the Earl of Macclesfield. How held a household office under William III. His brother, Sir Scroop, had been involved with Sir John Guise (whose daughter Bradshaigh married in 1697) in a project before 1694, to make profit by finding out lands in Lancashire given to superstitious uses. H.M.C. *Kenyon MSS.* p. 339. He was related to Lord Rivers through his mother. G.E.C., *Complete Peerage*.

¹ H.M.C. *Kenyon MSS.* p. 453.

² J. Lodge, *The Peerage of Ireland* (1789), pp. 306-11; G.E.C., *Complete Peerage*.

³ Crawford MSS., Barrymore to Bradshaigh, 27 April 1717.

but they are, perhaps, hardly the place to expect them.¹ Nevertheless, Barrymore, whom Horace Walpole referred to as the Pretender's General, was a close friend of Sir Watkin Williams Wynn, a leading high Tory, and in February 1744 he was arrested on suspicion of high treason. Whether he was guilty, or whether he was, as one of his associates thought, "too wise a man to forget his life and fortune for any foreign prince", he was released.² In the 'Forty Five, however, the Jacobites invading Cheshire inquired where Barrymore was, and he and Williams Wynn, as far as can be judged, intended but failed to join the Pretender.³ Barrymore inherited large estates in Cork, and had with his first wife a fortune of £10,000. His second marriage, secretly, in 1706, to the daughter of Richard, 4th Earl Rivers, brought him into contact with Lancashire and Cheshire affairs. Rivers, however, left many of his estates (including his wife's estate at Wardley in Lancashire) under trust to his cousin and the inheritor of his title, John Savage, a Roman Catholic priest, and after him to an illegitimate daughter. Barrymore at once challenged this settlement of lands in Lancashire, Cheshire, Yorkshire, and Essex. The lands were not legally vested in him (to the use of John Savage and after him to Barrymore's daughter) until 1721, but he was already writing from Wardley at the beginning of 1715.⁴ For practical purposes, Barrymore inherited the

¹ Crawford MSS., Barrymore to Bradshaigh, 18 October 1715. According to G.E.C. Barrymore was arrested on suspicion in 1715; no source is given, and no reference is made to the arrest of 1744. Barrymore was not one of the six members whose arrest was laid before the Commons in September 1715, and in November he signed an Irish Privy Council proclamation against the rebels. A. Boyer, *Political State of Great Britain*, x. 491-3.

² H. Paget Toynbee (ed.), *Letters of Horace Walpole*, i. 247; *Commons Journal*, xxiv. 591; H.M.C. Puleston MSS. p. 328. For Barrymore's views on Walpole's political exploitation of the threat from the Pretender in a debate on the size of the army see *ibid.* p. 319.

³ J. P. Earwaker, *East Cheshire, past and present*, i (1877-80), 35; *Dictionary of National Biography* under Williams Wynn.

⁴ G.E.C., *Complete Peerage* under Rivers; there are several letters from Bradshaigh to Rivers in 1706 informing him of the marriage in H.M.C. Bath MSS. i. 87-9; H. V. Hart Davis and S. Holme, *History of Wardley Hall, Lancashire* (1908). The trustees were the Earl of Oxford and the Duke of Shrewsbury. The act regulating the settlement was of 7 Geo. I. *The Statutes*

Rivers interest at Wigan. He lived not only at his Irish seat, but at the Rivers houses of Rock Savage, Marbury, and Wardley: the last of these had been the seat of the Downes, whose heiress Lord Rivers had married in 1679, and who had represented Wigan in the early seventeenth century. Barrymore was soon absorbed in Lancashire and Cheshire politics, and in 1739 declared to Bradshaigh that he was as well able as Lord Derby to spend £1,000 on the Lancashire county election.¹

III

A constant theme in the history of the borough of Wigan from the sixteenth century was the feud between the Corporation and the Rector. The Rector held an unusually powerful position in the town in that he was also Lord of the Manor, and in the early seventeenth century this had led to a dispute as to whether burgesses were made by the Corporation or by paying rent for burgages to the Lord of the Manor. This fundamental question was not raised in the eighteenth century, but there were disputes as to the right to hold the Easter Leet and to take tolls at the Ascensiontide fair: the holding of the Leet was of political as well as legal importance. In spite of an arbitration in 1662 these disputes tended to recur on the appointment of a new Rector. The manor was held by the Rector under the Lords of Newton in Makerfield, the Leghs of Lyme who had bought the barony in 1660. The advowson of Wigan had been bought by Sir Orlando Bridgeman in 1661, apparently with the object of creating a rural living for the Bishop of Chester, within whose diocese it lay: until 1707 it was held by successive Bishops of Chester, who thereby acquired special influence in the town.² In 1707, however, Sir

at Large, vol. v. Wardley and the Lancashire estates passed on the death of John, Earl Rivers in 1737, to Barrymore's daughter, who had married James Cholmondeley, brother of the 3rd Earl of Cholmondeley. By 1760 she had disposed of them to the Earl of Bridgewater. Hart Davis, *op. cit.* p. 65.

¹ Crawford MSS., Barrymore to Bradshaigh, 7 September 1739. Barrymore became a burgess of Wigan in 1712. Wigan Public Library, J. Burrows, *Calendar of Wigan Archives*, Miscellaneous Rolls, p. 27.

² V.C.H. *Lancashire*, iv. 70-3; G. T. O. Bridgeman, *History of the Church and Manor of Wigan*, Chetham Society, n.s., v (1888-90).

John Bridgeman and his co-trustees, including Orlando Bridgeman, made a presentation which linked the divisions in Wigan with those of national politics. They chose a friend of the Leghs of Lyme, Edward Finch. Finch was the brother of Daniel, Earl of Nottingham, and of Heneage Finch who stood unsuccessfully for Wigan with Bridgeman in 1708.¹ Already the poll of 1702 had shown that Bridgeman's was in a precise sense the church party in Wigan: his voters included fifteen clerks (among them Edward Finch and his brother Henry, the Rector of Winwick, nearby), while Sir Roger's numbered only five.² The new Rector soon came into conflict with a number of his parishioners, particularly the wealthier ones, over the erection of an organ. For this purpose he pulled down a gallery built about 1685 by the Mayor and Corporation for their use. He had the support of the two churchwardens and some 327 of his parishioners, but the Corporation, headed by Sir Roger Bradshaigh, indicted the workmen and embarked on an expensive suit with the Rector: after two appeals the town was ordered in 1712 to pay costs and to keep "perpetual silence".³ The Bridgeman-Finch rivalry with Haigh in politics combined easily with Sir Roger's and the Corporation's suit against the Rector. In 1713, when Nottingham and his followers were alienated from the Earl of Oxford, Sir Roger in his appeals to Oxford for help made great play with the threat of the Finch interest at Wigan. In September 1713 he wrote of his own and Kenyon's victory, "notwithstanding the opposition of Lord Barrymore and his friends the Finches. I have met with several letters sent from considerable persons above to their party friends here to do their utmost to throw me out."⁴ Some of the edge of the ecclesiastical conflict was

¹ D.N.B. Finch was a considerable musician; he was a friend of Peter Legh of Lyme. Lady Newton, *The Lyme Letters* (1925), p. 223.

² Crawford MSS., copy of the 1702 poll.

³ Sinclair, *op. cit.* p. 197. Lancashire Record Office, Kenyon MSS., Bradshaigh to the Mayor of Wigan, 7 February 1710/11, "... if the Towne Clark would be collecting of out burgesses it would help a little, for this is a verry chargable suite. I shall gett what I can here [London] amongst friends. Sir H. Houghton and my Lady Guise have contributed and my Lord Derby has promised as well as some others."

⁴ H.M.C. *Portland MSS.*, v. 327.

removed with the resignation of Edward Finch in November 1713. The succeeding Rector, Samuel Aldersey, a relation by marriage of the Bridgemans, again came in conflict with the Corporation in 1714 over manorial rights, and, although the point was settled by a compromise which lasted throughout Aldersey's tenure, the Rector remained for Bradshaigh a disturbing influence in the town.¹

Wigan's franchise was never determined by the House of Commons, but rested by prescription in the Mayor, Recorder, the eleven other aldermen and the two bailiffs, together with the burgesses both out and in. The in-burgesses were elected by the jury of the Court Leet and then sworn by the Mayor; the out-burgesses were sworn by the mayor *ex officio* without election by the jury, but both shared in the election of mayors and members of Parliament.² The only burgess lists surviving for this period are those in the Court Leet records when a poll was taken in the election of a mayor: in 1725 there were 115 in- and 143 out-burgesses.³ The voting lists for the early eighteenth century parliamentary elections show that the total of voters varied between 150 and 180, and that the proportion of out-burgesses voting varied between a quarter and a third. The out-burgess voters, however, were more significant than their numbers suggest, for they were men of standing in the closely linked counties of Lancashire and Cheshire, and some had direct

¹ Aldersey had married a daughter of Dr. Henry Bridgeman, Dean of Chester, 1660-82. The Corporation yielded on the point of right, and Aldersey granted them a twenty-one-year lease, renewed in 1735, of the right to hold the Easter Leet and to take tolls at the Ascensiontide fair. Bridgeman, *op. cit.* pt. 3, p. 614.

² E. Baines, *The History of the County Palatine and Duchy of Lancaster*, ed. J. Croston, iv (1888-93), 255; Wigan Public Library, MS. book, *A Translation of Certain Wigan Borough Charters with observations on the Rights of the Corporation thereunder by William Clayton Town Clerk 1806-13*, pp. 32-5. This is the clearest account of the borough's constitution and its working; it is confirmed for the earlier period by the "Case relating to the Borough of Wigan with Tho. Reave's opinion 6 September 1725" in the Crawford MSS. The Corporation's powers to create out-burgesses, used in 1802 to throw off the Duke of Portland's influence, was not apparently recognized in the period before 1747.

³ Wigan Public Library, Court Leet Rolls, No. 133, Mich. 1725.

influence in Wigan. In 1708 Bradshaigh was able to enlist the Hon. Langham Booth and the Hon. Cecil Booth, the son and brother respectively of the 1st Earl of Warrington; the Hon. Charles Stanley, son of the 8th Earl of Derby; Benjamin Hoghton, the brother of Sir Charles Hoghton, and, in 1713, Sir Henry Hoghton, who had recently succeeded his father, Sir Charles.¹ The out-burgess voters, moreover, linked Wigan politics with those of other constituencies in the two counties. A Cheshire contingent, influenced by Peter Shakerley, included his cousin John Booth, ironmonger at Warrington, and his brother, Laurence Booth, esquire, at Twemlow in Cheshire, together with Arthur Fogg, the son of the Dean of Chester, Robert Callis, and his son-in-law. This influence, however, was based on persuasion and was not wholly reliable.² Wigan was linked, too, with Liverpool: among the out-burgesses voting for Bradshaigh in 1708 were Sir Thomas Johnson, Richard Norris and William Squire. The first two represented Liverpool in Parliament, and all three were active in corporation affairs and in the economic development of the town and its hinterland. William Squire, who was Mayor of Liverpool in 1715, was a leading organizer of the Douglas Navigation scheme, while Norris was a party to a secret bargain with the undertakers entitling him to a third of the profits. At a later date, probably 1727, the number of Wigan voters from Liverpool was said to be eighteen.³ There was a strong clerical element among the out-burgesses, including several former curates of Wigan Parish Church.

¹ Crawford MSS., 1708 poll.

² H.M.C. *Kenyon MSS.* pp. 450 and 451: in 1702 when Shakerley cast only one vote, for Bridgeman, all these followed him, but in 1713, when he voted for Bradshaigh and Kenyon, Callis followed him, but Fogg voted for Barrymore and Bridgeman. Dr. Arthur Fogg was the son of Laurence Fogg, Dean of Chester, 1692-1718. G. Ormerod, *History of Cheshire*, i (1882), 267.

³ T. S. Willan, *River Navigation in England 1600-1750* (1936), p. 59. By 1746 Thomas Steers, the engineer of Liverpool's dock and an undertaker of the Douglas Navigation, was also a Wigan burgess. Crawford MSS., "List of Burgesses, 1746, to whom letters have been sent". Crawford MSS., Barrymore to Bradshaigh, undated letter, "Thursday afternoon" apparently referring to the 1727 election. For the kind of arrangement about polling dates necessitated by this overlapping of Liverpool and Wigan burgesses, see *The Norris Papers*, edited by T. Heywood, Chetham Society (1846), p. 60.

The number of out-burgess clerks voting rose from eight in 1695 to sixteen in 1702, and then fell again to thirteen in 1708 and nine in 1713. The clerical group kept up after 1715, for in 1722 Barrymore urged Bradshaigh: "that in case the precept comes we cannot have the election this week because we have many clergymen that are voters that cannot attend now and will then, besides Mr. Shakerley".¹ In general, the out-burgesses were erratic in their voting: many voted only occasionally, others split their two votes between the rival interests or gave single votes, while comparatively few gave wholehearted support to the same interest at every election.

The in-burgesses, however, greatly out-numbered the out-burgesses who voted, and success at Wigan elections depended on the persuasion of between 100 and 140 voters, mostly tradesmen and craftsmen. This perhaps overstates the problem; although detailed knowledge and considerable tact were of great importance, the two pillars of electoral success were the mayor and the jury of the Court Leet. Between them they chose the in- and out-burgesses, and throughout the period the mayor and the jury were the two points of dispute. In 1712 a hostile observer commented: "I met Sir R. Bradshaigh a day or two ago; he intends to be in the country as he says, about a fortnight hence, and though I do not always give him credit, in this matter I do, because he is pretty watchful about his elections, and who is chose Mayor this next term may probably serve for the election the next sumer." The situation was unchanged when in 1733 Barrymore wrote to Bradshaigh: "who doe you think proper for a mayor, if that is not strenuously oppos'd I think the elections for members will not bee contested?"² The mayor was elected by all the burgesses, but in fact the choice was usually planned in advance by the dominant interest. Sir Roger Bradshaigh was Mayor in 1698, 1703, 1719, 1724, and 1729; his brother, Henry, in 1709, his

¹ Crawford MSS., Barrymore to Bradshaigh, undated letter clearly referring to the election of 1722.

² H.M.C. *Kenyon MSS.*, Roger Kenyon to Mrs. Kenyon, 6 September 1712; Crawford MSS., Barrymore to Bradshaigh, 7 August 1733, cf. George Winstanley to Bradshaigh, 5 May 1746; "You are sensible the election of parliament wholly depends of what is done at Michaelmass."

brother William, in 1712, and his son, Roger, in 1720, while Barrymore held the office in 1725 and 1734. Between these more eminent mayors the office tended to go to certain leading families in the town: the Baldwins, the Bankes, and the Fords, all pewterers, and later to the Holts. An exception in 1726 which proved dangerous to the established interest was Legh Master, a nephew of Peter Legh of Lyme.¹ By ancient usage the jury was sworn from such burgesses as lived in the town and paid scot and lot, excluding borough officials: in 1726 these were reckoned at forty-one and in 1739 at thirty-nine.² But periodic disputes arose as to whether jurymen were in fact properly qualified: the dispute over jurors reached its climax in 1725 when it emerged that the old rules had not been strictly observed. Disputes over the mayor and the jury were usually symptomatic of electoral conflicts: no dispute over Wigan's franchise went to the House of Commons, but disputes bearing on it were taken to the law courts, and this mingling of law and politics was characteristic of Wigan affairs.

At the two elections of 1713 (the first a by-election) and the election of 1715, various influences were invoked to sway the Wigan voters. In a general sense Wigan was within the Stanley sphere of influence, and the Bradshaighs, with the exception of a breach in the late seventeenth century, enjoyed the Earl of Derby's favour: in 1705 Sir Roger stood, unsuccessfully, as a Stanley candidate for the county. But Lord Derby's support could not guarantee success at Wigan.³ A

¹ A list of mayors is in Baines, *op. cit.* iv. 257-8. On the Wigan pewterers see article by R. J. A. Shelley, *Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire*, vol. xcvi (1945).

² Crawford MSS., Leigh to Bradshaigh, 15 February 1725, 6; Barrymore to Bradshaigh, 7 May 1739.

³ H.M.C. *Kenyon MSS.* p. 434; there is a copy of the county poll of 1705 among the Crawford MSS.; the candidates were Richard Shuttleworth, William Farington, the Hon. Charles Stanley, and Bradshaigh. Bradshaigh stood in opposition to Shuttleworth, W. W. Bean, *The Parliamentary Representation of the Six Northern Counties of England* (1890), p. 181. In 1708 Lord Gower solicited only George Kenyon's second vote at Wigan for Bridgeman, recognizing that "your obligations to my Lord Derby, are such that on his account you will serve Sir Roger Bradshaigh in the first place". H.M.C. *Kenyon MSS.* p. 442. In 1695 Rigby claimed to have assurance of Lord Derby's friendship "under his hand", but he failed to get in at Wigan. *Ibid.* p. 384.

more immediate aristocratic influence was that of Richard Savage, 4th Earl Rivers, Vice-Admiral of Lancashire from 1702-12, who had sat for Wigan himself in 1681, and was a more active political figure than either the 9th or 10th Earls of Derby. Rivers was a patron of the Bradshaighs: Henry Bradshaigh had been one of his aides-de-camp in Spain, and was described in 1710 as under his power, and Sir Roger relied on his intercession with Harley. His influence at Wigan was undoubted: after Henry Bradshaigh's death in 1712, Sir Roger wrote to Oxford: "It is necessary to write this post to my Corporation to recomend a fitt person to serve them in his roome, and having had the approbation of my Lord Rivers on behalfe of Mr Kenyon, who is our Recorder and vice chancellor of the Dutchy of Lancaster, I have writt this post to his Lordship to recomend him to the Towne as soone as possible to prevent any other application."¹ A month after this letter Rivers died, and the Rivers interest was in confusion: but Kenyon met with no opposition in an election so near to the end of the Parliament.

For the General Election of 1713 Bradshaigh made his preparations early: his brother William was elected Mayor for the election year, while in London Bradshaigh canvassed for Kenyon the Bishop of Chester, the Chancellor of the Duchy (and through him the Lord Lieutenant to be), and the Lord Treasurer. When Kenyon's offer of his services had been accepted by the Corporation, his supporters began their activities in the locality. Shakerley used his influence; Dr. Richard Wroe, Warden of the Collegiate Church of Manchester, canvassed among the clerical out-burgesses; and John Sumner, the master at Wigan Grammar School, busied himself with the minutiae of management: a judicious small loan, a threat of the loss or a promise of the gain of a local office, and free drinks to compete with those offered by Barrymore's steward.² Barry-

¹ G.E.C.; Bean, *op. cit.* p. 460; H.M.C. *Portland MSS.*, iv. 579 and v. 18; B.M. *Portland MSS.*, Bradshaigh to Oxford, 9 July 1712.

² H.M.C. *Kenyon MSS.* pp. 449-52; Wroe was George Kenyon's brother-in-law; he was a J.P., and an active politician in Lancashire. F. R. Raines, *The Rectors of Manchester and the Wardens of the Collegiate Church, Chetham*

more, in fact, with the help of the Rector and Bridgeman, gained 87 votes (22 out- and 65 in-burgesses) against Sir Roger's 126, and not only did he enlist those who had voted for Bridgeman and Finch in 1708, but he won over some who had voted for the two Bradshaighs then. Curiously enough, Bridgeman gained only 18 votes, probably because he was absent from the actual election.¹ It proved, as Bradshaigh complained to Oxford afterwards, a very expensive election owing to Barrymore's "great offers to voters and spending so much money in the towne".²

Barrymore's threat was pursued beyond the election, for he and Bridgeman petitioned against their opponents on the grounds that they were not properly qualified under the recent landed qualification act, which required a borough member to possess landed property of £300 annual value, above reprises. The tactics adopted by Bradshaigh and Kenyon, with the advice of their friends, Shakerley and Thomas Ashurst, strongly suggest that they were unable to meet the challenge squarely.³ Fortunately for them the petition petered out: Bridgeman withdrew, and the committee was discharged on the technical ground that Barrymore had not actually signed the petition himself. The discharge, however, was not passed without two divisions of the House, and the whole proceedings indicate a certain hostility to Bradshaigh and Kenyon on the part of a

Society (1885), pt. ii, pp. 151-2. He had been the bishop's curate at Wigan, 1679-81. Hawkes, *op. cit.* p. 41. Sumner had been a sizar at Queen's College, Cambridge, B.A. 1686-7. J. Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses*, pt. i (1922-7), vol. iv. In 1733 (after his death) he was described as one "who for many years was employed about the public affairs of the borough". Exch. K.R. Depositions by Commission, 7 Geo. II, Mich. 14, 1733. Interrogatories on behalf of Thomas Steers. I owe this information to Dr. T. S. Willan. It is not clear if Sumner was still the schoolmaster in 1713; he had been appointed in 1686, but a new master was appointed in 1692. Sinclair, *op. cit.* ii. 174.

¹ Kenyon MSS. 1713 poll; Crawford MSS., Thomas Ashurst to Bradshaigh, 30 October 1713.

² B.M. Portland MSS., Bradshaigh to Oxford, 20 September 1713.

³ Shakerley's letters to Kenyon are in H.M.C. *Kenyon MSS.*, pp. 454-5; for his ability as an organiser see T. S. Willan, *The Navigation of the River Weaver*, Chetham Society, 3rd ser., iii (1951), 10-11. Ashurst's letters to Bradshaigh are among the Crawford MSS. A reprice was a payment falling to be made yearly out of a manor or estate.

number of Lancashire and Cheshire Tories, including Richard Shuttleworth and John Ward, member for Newton.¹ Even the withdrawal of the petition did not end the trouble and expense caused by Barrymore's rivalry. Immediately after the parliamentary election, the legality of the mayoral election was challenged by 62 burgesses, including Sir Thomas Standish, Sir Edward Chisnall, both influential local figures, Bertie Entwistle (whose ejection from the Recordership and replacement by Kenyon Bradshaigh had secured in 1698), John Rigby, the late Lord Rivers' steward, and Robert Holt, whose name first appears in the poll of 1713. Their objection was that the late Mayor, William Bradshaigh, had not held the election in the usual place, the Town Hall, but in a house too small to hold all the legal voters.² The defence lay in counter-accusations that a riot, caused by Barrymore's supporters (Holt being among the suspects), had made the normal procedure impossible. Bradshaigh had to spend money on attorneys, on securing the services of the eminent counsel, Serjeant Chesshyre, and on a Privy Seal licence to allow him and two Queen's Counsel to plead for the new mayor and the bailiffs against a Crown charge.³ Towards the end of the parliamentary session he was in financial straits, and appealed to Oxford for ready money, citing "the great expense I shall be put to this terme in the defence of the several prosecutions against my friends in Wigan".⁴

The suits continued, and merged in the contest for the election of 1715, following on the death of the queen. Within

¹ *Commons Journal*, xvii. 493, 514, and 541.

² Crawford MSS., "Protest of some Burgesses, 3 October 1713". The replacement of Entwistle, championed by Sir Alexander Rigby and the Earl of Macclesfield, by Kenyon, backed by Shakerley and Bradshaigh, was an incident in the struggle in the borough between Rigby on one side and Shakerley and Bradshaigh; although the Lords Justices were suspicious of Shakerley, Bradshaigh managed, in some way not revealed, to make interest with William III in Kenyon's favour. *Cal. S.P.D. 1697*, p. 448; *H.M.C. Kenyon MSS.*, pp. 423-4.

³ Crawford MSS. Names of the Rioters at Wigan; affidavits taken 29 January 1713/14. On the back is a series of queries in Bradshaigh's hand, including "above how farr the evidence does reach against Mr. Holt, his son, Mr. Heys, Mr. Calvert and Thomas Walker . . .".

⁴ B.M. Portland MSS., Bradshaigh to Oxford, 26 — 1714.

the county Barrymore gained support: Lord Derby, when approached by him (through Lady Colchester, widow of Lord Rivers' brother), promised his backing before he knew of Kenyon's intention to stand, and from November, in token of the alliance of the Finches with the Whigs, the Chancellor of the Duchy was Heneage Finch, newly created Earl of Aylesford. At a lower level among the election organizers in the town there were suggestions of a compromise whereby Kenyon should withdraw and Barrymore should repay his expenses.¹ At first Kenyon refused, though professing his willingness to sacrifice himself for the peace of the town. Bradshaigh's attitude is not revealed, but in December Kenyon sent to him, for his approval or correction, a letter to the mayor in which he withdrew his candidature, stating that he had been assured that upon his withdrawal "the Suits against the Corporation shall cease, and that it will be the meanes to give peace, and unity to the towne".² A public reconciliation between Bradshaigh and Barrymore took place, and their respective followers seem to have agreed to serve both their interests while they were united. In a later moment of recrimination Bradshaigh informed Barrymore: "I am sure notwithstanding the large sum which you gave Mr. Kenyon upon his declining to stand, if I had not appear'd verry heartily the morning of the election for your Lordship, you had not been chosen even at that time", and on the back of the copy of Kenyon's letter to the mayor is written in Sir Roger's hand (though at what date cannot be said), "but sold the towne for £300 to Lord Barrymore".³

¹ H.M.C. *Kenyon MSS.*, p. 457: Rivers' elder brother, Thomas, died before his father; his wife was Charlotte, daughter of the 8th Earl of Derby.

² The original letter is in Wigan Public Library, and there is a copy among the Crawford MSS. The negotiation was a delicate one; Kenyon's accompanying letter to Bradshaigh showed suspicion of Barrymore, but Edward Beresford, a friend of Barrymore and of the Leghs of Lyme, gave warning of the need for trust in a gentleman's agreement: "for you cannot suppose him [Barrymore] to be free from difficulty in relation to his own party". Wigan Public Library.

³ Crawford MSS., Leigh to Bradshaigh, 14 February 1746/7; Bradshaigh to Barrymore, draft letter 17 November 1720.

IV

This was the origin of the long partnership between Sir Roger Bradshaigh and Lord Barrymore at Wigan. For the period 1715 to 1747 there are in the Crawford MSS. two long series of letters, almost all to Sir Roger, the one consisting of some 200 letters from Barrymore, and the other of nearly 250 letters from Alexander Leigh. Leigh had been a campaigner for Barrymore in 1714, but after the alliance he seems to have given equal, if not prior, allegiance to Bradshaigh.¹ He was an attorney with a large clientele in Lancashire, and in 1733 he was steward or clerk of seventeen manorial courts, including Haigh, Wigan, and Knowsley: his activities strongly resemble those of the Liverpool attorney, of the same period, Isaac Green.² His interests extended to economic matters: he had an interest in enclosing, and was deeply involved in the Douglas Navigation project, and thereby concerned in the Lancashire coal trade.³ Leigh was related to the Holts of Wigan by his marriage to Dorothy, daughter of Robert Holt, who was a moving spirit in the Douglas Navigation, together with his son, Edward. Robert Holt figures in Barrymore's letters as a friend constantly consulted (with Leigh) on borough affairs and undertaking Barrymore's disbursements in the town. During the 'thirties and early 'forties the Leigh and Holt families dominated the internal affairs of the borough.⁴ Robert Holt was Mayor in 1730 and 1736, and his son, Edward,

¹ H.M.C. *Kenyon MSS.* pp. 458-9, Deposition of William Low, 1714.

² Crawford MSS., Leigh to Bradshaigh, 1 May 1733: cf. R. Stewart Brown, *Isaac Greene, A Lancashire Lawyer of the Eighteenth Century* (1921).

³ Crawford MSS., Leigh to Bradshaigh, 2 February 1724/5. According to Whitehouse, writing in 1820, the whole work of the Navigation "was executed at the sole expense of one public-spirited individual, Alexander Leigh of Hindley, grandfather of Sir Robert Holt Leigh bt.", Chapters in Local History reprinted from the *Wigan Examiner*, 1946-7. There are a number of interesting letters from Leigh to Bradshaigh on the Navigation among the Crawford MSS.

⁴ Crawford MSS. George Winstanley, discussing the borough's affairs in a letter to Bradshaigh, 12 October 1746, referred to "their high and mightinesses Leigh and Holt", i.e. Edward Holt, the son of Robert. In 1802 Leigh's grandson, who was created a baronet in 1815, sat for Wigan. Pink and Beavan, *op. cit.* pp. 237-8.

in 1741 and 1745, while Leigh held the office in 1727 and 1737. Leigh also held the office of Town Clerk from 1732 to 1735; his son, Robert, held it from 1735 to his death in 1741 and his nephew and former clerk, John Wiswall, succeeded. Sir Roger's relations with Leigh and the Holts were on the whole very close, and he confided much of the management of his interest to them while he was in London: Barrymore, too, constantly submitted to Leigh's advice and sent his circular letters to him unsealed for his approval. But occasionally Sir Roger seems to have found it best to tread carefully with the Holts. The kind of delimitation of spheres of influence is shown in the crisis over Ralph Baldwin in 1737-8. Ralph Baldwin, who had formerly been an opponent of Bradshaigh and Barrymore, was proving a nuisance to the ruling group in the mid-'thirties. Leigh, the Mayor, wished to disenfranchise him for contempt of the Mayor and Court Leet, but Baldwin was rumoured to have encouragement from Sir Roger. An interesting letter, signed also by Robert and Edward Holt and their ally George Browne, was sent from Leigh to Bradshaigh in November 1737; it was clearly a delicate form of pressure:

I have already said, and not without orders; that you are sure of the friendship and assistance of my father [i.e. father-in-law] and all his family, if you think that friendship worth preserving: and not only they, but severall others who are your friends, will freely subscribe to the assurance, upon the same condition: . . .

Time was, when those two [Ralph Baldwin and Nicholas Parr] were at the head of such an opposition, as it was imagined, you wou'd not have forgot; it wou'd in those days have been esteemed serving you, to have excluded 'em: but it seems as if their zeal at that time, to aid another person, who was for overturning your intrest, had recomended them to your particular esteem, after they were disappointed by the assistance of those persons of whom you seem to be now the most distrustfull.

It is in no man's power besides your own, to break that union which has for severall years happily subsisted amongst us; . . . It will be most unhappy, if you think your intrest, and that of the town, incompatible: for in that case, every man who acts upon honest principles must conclude that the publick ought first to be regarded. Many of your friends here, as well as I, think otherwise; and that a few of the substantiall inhabitants, who are peaceably disposed, may be elected burgesses, and your intrest remain still in the same security. . . . There is nothing of that kind [opposition] intended; nor will be, if you do not comitt the first act of desertion.

If he was prepared to support Leigh and the Holts, Bradshaigh was asked to write to his friends on the jury, including George Winstanley, to withdraw their support from Baldwin. Sir Roger apparently obliged, and at the Easter Leet when Baldwin again sought re-election the Holts defeated him and secured the election of six of their own supporters.¹

Robert Holt and Leigh on one occasion interpreted the political opinion of the town to Bradshaigh: this concerned the Excise scheme in 1733. Bradshaigh had received a general letter from the town, and had written to Leigh and Holt to discover if it represented a genuine widespread attitude or had been inspired by his fellow member, Peter Bold. Leigh and Holt replied assuring him that it was not a manoeuvre on Bold's part, but that the proposal for it had been made publicly by the mayor, "wherein he was so generally seconded that in all appearance it was become necessary". The letter gives an indication of the constituents' attitude to their member, a combination of deference and discreet advice. After relating the general dissatisfaction, it continues:

You are so well acquainted with matters of this kind, that if our advice were fitt to be offer'd we are perswaded you want it not; much less any that we are capable of giving, in regard to your present conduct: but the manner wherein you require it, obliges us to be thankfull for your kind opinion of us. We are very sensible of your judgment to discern, what is likely to tend to *the advantage or disadvantage* of the subject; and see no reason why you shou'd not be govern'd by it—to expect otherwise wou'd be in a friend an actuall desertion; as it is endeavouring to lay you under a restraint of the worst kind, and bespeaks a suspicion that ought not to be entertain'd—we believe nothing of that sort was intended by any of your friends who subscrib'd the letter; and *the promise* you are pleased in your answer to make, that as soon as this scheme is open'd you'll communicate it to us, one wou'd think sufficient to take off the distrust of your adversaries: but it seems *otherwise*, for your letter, having pass'd thro' a great many hands, has suffer'd various *interpretations*; and that part of it that has given the greatest satisfaction to us is call'd *short and evasive* by the other side, and by them is laid hold of as an occasion to express their disaffection for its author: however as these are onely the small remnant of a party that in its altitude was not able to affect your intrest, we hope you need not fear their present power, nor any addition that can be made to it, by *misrepresentations* in your prejudice.²

¹ Crawford MSS., Leigh to Bradshaigh, 29 November, 13 December 1737, and 18 April 1738.

² Ibid. Leigh and Holt to Bradshaigh, 26 February 1732/3.

While Leigh and the Holts did him service in the borough, Bradshaigh used his influence on their behalf. He served the cause of the Douglas Navigation actively, and kept watch, partly of course in his own interests as a colliery owner, on the schemes of Sir James Lowther in the late 'thirties, to "monopolize the Coal Trade upon this Coast", thereby cutting out those concerned in the Navigation.¹ Other services were more personal. In June 1739, Leigh suggested to Sir Roger that Edward Holt should be made a J.P., which would be "very agreeable" to his father, and would remedy a shortage of justices in the Wigan area, where they were anxious to benefit by the powers recently vested in justices for the better recovery of rents. Edward Holt appeared on a commission of the very next month.² Bradshaigh appears also to have given some assistance to both Roger and James Holt in their military careers.³

To a great extent Leigh and Holt formed the channel for appeals from the locality for Sir Roger's patronage: the places involved ranged from the Duchy office of Seal-Keeper to the Chancellor to a place in the Survey of Bridges, but the most common were those in the administration—the Excise, the Post Office, the Salt Office and the Window Tax.⁴ The link between patronage and the management of the borough appears most clearly in the letters relating to the Post Office and the

¹ Crawford MSS., Leigh to Bradshaigh, 5 December 1738, 6 and 22 April 1739, 21 July and 27 November 1739. The Douglas Navigation was a distinct element in Wigan electoral affairs; a Wigan electoral address of 1753, on behalf of Richard Barry, son of Barrymore, and Sir William Meredith, charged one of their opponents, Sir John Savile, with attempts to bribe the electorate, *inter alia*, "By advancing the commerce of the town in assisting Mr. Alderman Leigh in his Navigation project", of which the writer disapproved. Later in the same pamphlet, Leigh was described as having suffered losses by the Navigation, and as having been, until recently, "the chief agent to support the Country interest". Wigan Public Library.

² Ibid. Leigh to Bradshaigh, 12 June 1739: Edward Holt is included in the commission of 5 July 1739. I owe this information to the kindness of Mr. R. Sharpe France.

³ Ibid. Leigh to Bradshaigh, 27 May, 23 September and 2 October 1737, and Barrymore to Bradshaigh, 11 December 1737. Leigh to Bradshaigh, 12 December 1740 and 1 September 1741.

⁴ See the frequent references by George Winstanley to places obtained through Bradshaigh's good offices, especially 16 August 1745.

Window Tax. The Window Tax office in Wigan was held by Josiah Cocke, the landlord of *The Eagle and Child*: he had been a burgess since 1727 and was described by Barrymore as "a staunch friend at all times". In 1733 Cocke was imprisoned in Lancaster gaol for debt: a number of influential people in the county were mustered in his support, including Sir Henry Hoghton, Thomas Brereton and Sir Thomas Lowther, and he was the subject of one of the very few letters extant from Bradshaigh to Walpole. This was a request that Cocke should be allowed to act by deputy (preferable his son-in-law, Richard Leigh) until his debts were paid, or, failing this, that the Mayor of Wigan, James Ford, might succeed him.¹ Some arrangement was made whereby Cocke kept his post, and early in 1734 Richard Leigh was appointed a Deputy in the Post Office.² Early in 1738 the question arose of a successor to Cocke in the Window Tax, and Alexander Leigh strongly recommended Ford to Sir Roger. He was recommended as a friend to the Bradshaigh interest, "when his indigent circumstances might have been retriev'd, if he wou'd have deserted it", "and whose time, canot, according to the course of nature, for many years prevent your obliging another friend, after his death"; it was an employment, too, which Leigh believed "he is capable to execute; and which carrys along with it such an income, as will enable him to appear like a magistrate (when it falls to his lot) without the aid of his friends". Already, when Ford had been Mayor in 1733-4, he had had to be assisted financially by Barrymore and Bradshaigh in carrying the office, but his loyalty justified the expense.³ Leigh urged, in addition: "you have kept the place, in the family where it is, for a great many years; and by adding the post office to it (one wou'd think that) you have sufficiently express'd your desire to serve every person belonging to Mr Cocke that is capable of receiving

¹ Exch. K.R. Depositions by Commission, 7 Geo. II, Mich. 14, 1733. Cocke was sworn a burgess 30 September 1727 by Leigh as Mayor. Crawford MSS., List of Burgesses sworn 1725-46. Ibid. Barrymore to Bradshaigh, 11 December 1733. C.U.L. Cholmondeley (Houghton) MSS., Corr. no. 2080, Bradshaigh to Walpole, 30 November 1733.

² Crawford MSS., Leigh to Bradshaigh, 15 March 1733/4 and 3 March 1737/8.

³ Ibid. Barrymore to Bradshaigh, 8 June and 23 September 1733.

your favour . . . and you are sensible, that if it were not for the supply which Mr Ford has from the turnpike, he must be supported by the contributions of his friends".¹ Bradshaigh secured the post for Ford, who in 1740 was able to undertake the mayoralty.

Although there is no evidence about the content of the agreement which began Barrymore and Bradshaigh's partnership, its general nature emerges from the correspondence. Barrymore, though the older man, normally deferred to Bradshaigh's opinion on the management of Wigan, as befitted a newcomer to the town, and, by comparison, to the House of Commons; moreover, he was often in Ireland, either in Dublin for the Irish Parliament, or at his house, Castle Lyons in Co. Cork. His letters to Sir Roger contain constant assurances of his willingness to share equally in all expenses for the maintenance of their joint interest, whether it were presents for the mayor, treats for the burgesses, money for races, for a gaol, or for the building of a Town Hall between 1720 and 1725. The old Town Hall had become dilapidated and had been pulled down in 1718 by agreement between the Rector and the mayor, so that the Corporation had no proper meeting place. The total cost of the hall does not appear, but some of the detailed joint accounts survive, Barrymore's half on one of them being £133 15s. 6 $\frac{3}{4}$ d.² Treating was a constant charge at the leets and before elections: before the election of 1741 the Mayor, James Ford, reported to Bradshaigh:

We have gone thro' 4 publick houses of our friends, att which I found it necessary to spend more than I propos'd to have done att first, in order to keep them in temper and to send them away better satisfy'd; for there are some of so conscientious constitutions, that they cannot go to sleep, unless they have their skins full; and I hope that my Lord and your Honour will approve of what I have done. I have only 18s remaining of the 8 guineas, for the other 3 houses; which may make a supply a little necessary.³

Even after his alliance with Sir Roger, Barrymore had to face strong opposition from some of the in-burgesses, foremost

¹ Crawford MSS., Leigh to Bradshaigh, 3 March 1737-8.

² The joint accounts are in Wigan Public Library.

³ Crawford MSS., James Ford to Bradshaigh, 3 March 1740 1.

among whom was John Sumner, who informed Leigh in 1722 that "if the Devil stood Candidate (these were part of his terms) the greatest part of the town wou'd be for him rather than my Lord Barrymore". Bradshaigh, indeed, seems to have strained his own resources of influence in this election by his alliance with Barrymore, for even Leigh himself confessed: "I shou'd have been very silent in this (likely to be) troublesome contest if you had not signified your friendship for my Lord". Sumner and his associates planned to draw up an association for subscription in the town to restrain Bradshaigh from intermeddling in the choice of his fellow-member.¹ All the advantages of the alliance seemed to lie with Barrymore: in 1733 he admitted that "any opposition to you [Bradshaigh] must hurt mee infinitely more then you", and Bradshaigh himself was well aware of the strength of his position in the town.² In 1720, in response to Barrymore's request for a declaration of the alliance, he demurred at doing "a thing which must unavoidably hurt my interest in Wigan", and, in view of the public agreement at their reconciliation, wished to be excused from making such a declaration without the Corporation's consent. He insisted that if anyone stood in opposition only to Barrymore, "I ought not to be concern'd in that expence, for I flatter myselfe that nobody will oppose me singly", but protested that "I don't pretend to have such an interest in Wigan as to declare I will joyne or bring in any person whatsoever". Nevertheless, he believed that Barrymore would have only himself to blame if he failed. Barrymore's own frequent references to the rights and welfare of the Corporation are echoed here: "I must now acquaint your Lordship that if I would sell my interest in Wigan I have had verry considerable offers, but I assure you my opinion is, that if any thing is to be had upon such terms the Corporation is

¹ Crawford MSS., Leigh to Bradshaigh, 6 and 25 February 1721/2, and undated letter. Alderman Ford, Leigh doubted, would "hardly be perswaded into his [Barrymore's] intrest, tho' yours go's along with it. Mrs. Ford has received so great an aversion against my Lord, that there's no hope of her being reconcil'd to him."

² Ibid. Barrymore to Bradshaigh, 17 May 1733.

most intitled to it".¹ Despite a rumour in 1721 that Bradshaigh intended to stand with his son, the alliance with Barrymore continued. The reason may lie partly in the strength of the interest on which Barrymore had stood in 1713, but also in more personal bonds. In 1722 Barrymore found it expedient to refer before the assembled mayor, aldermen and other supporters to a report that "the reason of your [Bradshaigh's] joining with him at this time is because you owe him 4 or 500*l*. And he declar'd that he thought it but just to you that he shou'd let them have his assurance that you owe him no money at all, and that there have been no demands betwixt you for above two years past."² This may well have been strictly true, but between 1715 and 1719 Barrymore had made two loans to Bradshaigh. By April 1717 he was pressing for repayment and protesting: "I tooke your own time and method of paying it and very much to my disadvantage. If it had not been to serve you there's scarce a man I wou'd have lent money too on such terms. . . . I realy depended on the payment of the 100 and intrest for the rest": a postscript assured Bradshaigh that "as to the money between us 'tis a secret to everybody". A month later he was agitating for payment of £130 and for a better security for the whole loan than Sir Roger's life, insisting that he had promised sufficient security "even on your canell pitts. I assure you I had no bye end in lending the money but purely your service." No further loans are mentioned (save for an isolated reference in 1719) until 1739, when, after some difficulty, Barrymore lent Bradshaigh £198 19*s.*, but in 1742 Bradshaigh owed him about £600 for which he wished to have additional security.³

Barrymore was able, occasionally, to use his position in Ireland for Sir Roger's advantage. In 1724 he urged on the Lord Lieutenant, Bradshaigh's brother's claims to a post in Ireland, suggesting one in the Customs worth £200 or £300

¹ Crawford MSS., Draft letter of Bradshaigh to Barrymore, 17 November 1720.

² Ibid. Leigh to Bradshaigh, 6 February 1721/2.

³ Ibid. Barrymore to Bradshaigh, 27 April, 7 and 14 May 1717; on the back of a letter from Barrymore to Bradshaigh, 16 January 1738/9; Leigh to Bradshaigh, 8 August, 1742.

a year. Through him Bradshaigh embarked in 1731 on a project for making a profit of nearly £1,000, by disclosing to the Government the existence of an Irish estate under a dormant forfeiture for which he would gain a reward, and in addition a larger profit on the sale.¹ The promotion of a Mr. Francis Knapp, Surveyor of the Stores in the Customs at Cork, was a constant concern of Barrymore's between 1734 and 1738, and as fresh offices fell vacant he held out to Bradshaigh or to any of his friends who could obtain one for Knapp, by Walpole's favour, the promise of a sum varying from 300 guineas to £500. Barrymore discussed at some length the nature of Walpole's influence over such appointments in Ireland, and in 1738 commented on Sir Roger's failure to persuade Walpole :

As to the greate mans interfareing the enclos'd will satisfie you he does and will doe, but if he has noe mind to doe it there's noe more to bee said. His method off interfareing is thus, he directs one off the Irish comissioners to write to his brethern there that he desires such a person may bee provided on such a vacancy when 'tis one, if 'tis not already one ; 'tis very true that noe order but upon very extrodinary occasions issues from the treasury, and 'tis alsoe as true that noe post off any significancy in that kingdom is dispos'd off without his approbation. . . . If the greate man will not serve his friends when it costs noething, he uses them hardly ; I wish matters ran within a few votes, you would bee better regarded.²

Nevertheless the partnership was by no means an easy one, and there was constant suspicion on Bradshaigh's part during the 'twenties. In 1723 Barrymore had to allay his suspicions as to the choice of burgesses, particularly that of Thomas Hesketh, by disclaiming all foreknowledge of it, and twice at least he protested that he did not care if he himself were re-elected or not. In 1722, and again in 1727, there was some confusion in informing the voters as to whether Bradshaigh joined his interest to Barrymore's, and after the election of 1727 the latter requested a formal renewal of their engagement,

¹ Crawford MSS., Barrymore to Bradshaigh, 19 October 1724 ; 1 and 8 December 1731, — October 1732 and 8 May 1733, and draft memorial 22 December 1731 ; *Calendar of Treasury Books and Papers*, ii (1731-4), 289.

² *Ibid.* Barrymore to Bradshaigh, undated letter, "Monday night 1738" : the reference is to the relative strength of Government and Opposition in the Commons.

and the inclusion of their respective sons. No trace of this survives, but by October 1732 Bradshaigh had made a clear declaration of the alliance in preparation for the next election.¹ Certainly the 'thirties do not show any of the suspicions which marked the 'twenties: some of the improvement may be attributed to the death in 1728 of George Kenyon, Barrymore's old opponent.²

Barrymore's letters to Bradshaigh reveal that they had two different sets of friends in Lancashire and Cheshire, both of whom had their importance in Wigan elections, but that it was difficult to make the two run in harness together to further the joint interest. Sir Roger's influence, at least until the 'forties, was the more important among the in-burgesses, but the amount of attention given to the persuasion of the out-burgesses was considerable. Both Bradshaigh and Barrymore during their respective mayoralties in 1724-5 and 1725-6 made large creations of burgesses, chiefly out-burgesses, from among their friends, far exceeding the numbers sworn by any other mayor between 1725 and 1746.³ In the early 'twenties Bradshaigh's friends needed constant reassurance that he really joined with Barrymore, and even later they needed diplomatic handling. In 1727 several of Bradshaigh's Cheshire friends, who had votes at Wigan, refused to give a vote to Barrymore unless his electoral interest in Cheshire went to the Whig, Sir Robert Cotton. Barrymore wrote urging Bradshaigh to clarify the position, "for I wou'd not have wrote my circular letters or have engag'd in the controversy but on your assurance that those gentlemen wou'd bee for mee, and all your friends".⁴ Barrymore's friends included men with similar political interests:

¹ Crawford MSS., Barrymore to Bradshaigh, 31 August 1727 and — October 1732.

² Ibid. Barrymore to Bradshaigh, 8 December 1728: Kenyon's death, Barrymore thought, "may bee noe small meanes to continue the present good disposition".

³ Ibid. List of burgesses sworn 1725-46; Bradshaigh swore thirty-eight and Barrymore forty-six; the next highest number was thirteen under Bradshaigh in 1729-30.

⁴ Ibid. Barrymore to Bradshaigh, 15 August 1727: Cotton voted for the Excise Scheme according to Cobbett's list; he sat for Lostwithiel 1741-7. J. P. Earwaker, *Local Gleanings*, i (1879-80), 418.

Thomas Hesketh of Rufford, who had stood successfully at Preston with Daniel Pultney in 1722 against Sir Henry Hoghton; Richard Shuttleworth, the county member; Sir John Bland, member for the county from 1713 to 1727, who had married into the Moseley family; Thomas Lister, the member for Clitheroe; Thomas Assheton of Ashley, a member of the High Tory Cheshire Club, and the Tory lawyer, Thomas Pigott, who lobbied with the poet John Byrom for the Tories in the parliamentary debate on the Manchester Workhouse in 1731.¹ Barrymore, on his part, had to reassure his friends without alarming or compromising Bradshaigh. Behind their mutual suspicions lay not only the former divisions at Wigan, but the complex of Lancashire and Cheshire politics as a whole. Despite a certain solidarity of the Lancashire gentry, regardless of religion or politics, the area had seen actual fighting during the Jacobite rebellion of 1715. Afterwards, some forty odd rebels had been executed in its chief towns, including five at Wigan, and perhaps a thousand were sentenced to transportation: a Shuttleworth was executed at Preston and a Townley and a Tildesley were taken to London for trial. While some families suffered, others profited: Sir Thomas Johnson, the Liverpool merchant, was paid £1,000 in 1716 for transporting prisoners to the colonies, and Sir Henry Hoghton was made a Commissioner of Forfeited Estates for his loyalty.² The area was one of strongly contrasted electoral interests and Wigan was in some degree affected by the divisions. In Lancashire county's representation there was a strong Tory and Country tradition, which kept Richard Shuttleworth in Parliament from 1705 to 1749, despite a challenge from Hoghton

¹ This club included also, Barrymore, Peter Legh of Lyme, Sir Richard Grosvenor of Eaton, and Amos Meredith of Henbury, father of Sir William Meredith, M.P. Wigan 1754-61, with Barrymore's son. Lady Newton, *The House of Lyme* (1917), p. 368. Richard Parkinson, *The Private Journal and Literary Remains of John Byrom*, Chetham Society (1854-7), vol. i, pt. ii.

² M. Blundell, *Blundell's Diary and Letter Book 1702-28* (1952); S. Hibbert Ware, *Lancashire Memorials of the Rebellion, 1715*, Chetham Society, vol. v (1845); Baines, op. cit. i. 330-3; *Cal. Treas. Papers. 1714-19*, p. 200; A. C. Wardle, "Sir Thomas Johnson and the Jacobite Rebels", *Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire*, vol. xci (1939); G. C. Miller, *Hoghton Tower* (1948), pp. 197-9.

leading to a fierce contest in 1722.¹ Among the boroughs, Liverpool was a focus of conflict, owing to the activities of the Walpolian Thomas Brereton in the town and the neighbouring counties.² At Preston and in the county round it the strongest interest was that of Sir Henry Hoghton, whose family continued to support the dissenters longer than most of the Lancashire gentry. In 1734, reminding Walpole of a promise of office, Hoghton referred to "mine and my family's steadiness in all times to support the honest interest in this disaffected country [i.e. county]", and described bitterly the threats, intensified by the unpopularity of the Excise scheme, of Shuttleworth and the Earl of Derby to his interest at Preston.³ At Newton, the nearest borough to Wigan, the ex-Jacobite Leghs of Lyme were entrenched, since it was a burgage borough, and by their nomination the extremist Tory, William Shippen, sat in the Commons from 1715 to 1743.⁴

V

The 'twenties were a period of insecurity for the newly formed alliance at Wigan, and there were crises in 1722, 1724-6, and 1727. For the election of 1722 there was a threat from Thomas Crisp of Parbold, a Government supporter, who had been sheriff of the county in the rebellion.⁵ Bradshaigh and Barrymore, however, were able to rally to their common interest, Sir Edward Chisnall, the Rector (influenced partly by a letter from Bishop Gastrell), Entwistle, and Shakerley, whose

¹ William Stout, *Autobiography*, ed. J. Harland (1851), p. 101; Baines, *op. cit.* iv. 337 and 346.

² Pink and Beavan, *op. cit.* pp. 197-8; H.M.C. *Egmont Diary*, i. 85-7; C.U.L. Cholmondeley (Houghton) MSS. Corr. nos. 2218, 2396b, 2919.

³ G. C. Miller, *op. cit.* pp. 198-9; C.U.L. Cholmondeley MSS. Corr. no. 2146, Hoghton to Walpole, 2 April 1734.

⁴ Lady Newton, *The House of Lyme*, pp. 165, 217 and 351.

⁵ Crisp's petition to the Treasury for compensation for loss of sheriff's profits as a result of the rebellion was sponsored by Sir Thomas Johnson, *Cal. Treas. Papers*, 1714-19, p. 299. He sat for Ilchester in 1727. Walmesley, according to Leigh, was "so nearly allied in opinion as to religious affairs as well as politicks" to Crisp. Crawford MSS., Leigh to Bradshaigh, undated.

influence was still considerable.¹ Crisp soon desisted, but in his stead appeared Henry Furnese, a Londoner who had bought Lathom House during the disposal of various Stanley properties by the heiress, the Countess of Ashburnham, and Charles Mordaunt, a nephew of the Earl of Peterborough, who had acquired the manor of Halsall by marriage. Mordaunt was reported to be prepared to spend 500 guineas, and there was a danger that the Liverpool voters would default.² Mordaunt, however, retired, leaving Furnese supported by the regular electioneer, John Sumner and by John Walmesley. There was a certain hostility to Barrymore among the in-burgesses, and considerable time and energy were devoted to the persuasion of the in-burgesses at this election. Barrymore followed Bradshaigh's advice, and reported: "when I was last there I gave the burgesses twelve guineas to drink besides the other compliments of the bells musick etc. ; I treated the gentlemen at night and next day at dinner which cost eight pounds ; I send them this day, I mean the burgesses, to Mr Mayor to distribute, ten guineas, and a guinea to Mr Holt to give Mr Winstanley for the Haighe burgesses, which every body tells me is as much as our friends desire." His disgust with Sumner and his fellows was unbounded, since, as he reminded Bradshaigh, "most of them owe their power of voting to you and many of them their bread".³ The election does not appear to have been contested to a poll.

Restlessness and intrigue in the borough led up to the crisis of 1724-6, which took the form of a dispute over the mayor and over the qualifications of jurors. Barrymore saw it as an attempt to overturn his interest in the Corporation completely, sponsored by those who had always opposed him, and who objected to Bradshaigh's alliance with him.⁴ The chief opponents were Kenyon and Richard Atherton, whose money

¹ Crawford MSS., Barrymore to Bradshaigh, 6 February, 1721/2, Leigh to Bradshaigh, 6 February 1721/2. Bishop Gastrell was a constant opponent in the House of Lords of the Whig Government, *Not. Cest.*, ii, pt. ii, pp. xxx-xxxiv.

² V.C.H. *Lancashire*, iii. 193 and 252 ; Crawford MSS., Leigh to Bradshaigh, 25 February, 1721/2.

³ *Ibid.* Barrymore to Bradshaigh, 20 February 1721/2.

⁴ *Ibid.* Barrymore to Leigh, 22 June 1724.

was thought to be about the town, with Thomas Willis and Sumner as their agents in Wigan.¹ Sir Henry Hoghton's friends, to his concern, were a party to the opposition, and the Rector exerted himself to put pressure on his own tenants and to withdraw custom from tradesmen who supported Barrymore and Bradshaigh. The death of the Parish Clerk in 1726 gave Aldersey the opportunity to exercise his local patronage, and one of Barrymore's tenants was won over by the grant of the place to his wife's son-in-law.² During Bradshaigh's mayoralty in 1724-5, the opposition challenged the qualifications of some of his supporters to sit on the jury, and in spite of their taking leases of houses in the town, the case went against them at the Lancaster Assizes, on the grounds that jurors should pay scot and lot, as well as inhabit. Bradshaigh and Barrymore, on their side, challenged the legality of the election of some of the opposition. By the end of Bradshaigh's mayoralty there was a deadlock, and both sides agreed that there should be no writs or arrests.³ The mayoral election of 1725 was disputed between Barrymore and Thomas Willis: Bradshaigh swore his ally mayor but Willis sued out a mandamus against him. By the end of the year Barrymore was regretting the expense of the legal proceedings, and reproaching Bradshaigh for his neglect of his own advice at Michaelmas, 1724: "all had been safe and wee had some hundreds off pounds more in our pocketts".⁴ Early in December negotiations began between the two parties, and it became clear that a more dangerous influence than

¹ No Christian name is mentioned in the letters but this was clearly Richard Atherton of Atherton, who was an out-burgess. Wigan Public Library, Court Leet Roll 133. He was the grandson of Richard Atherton, M.P. Liverpool 1677-9, and died aged 26 in 1726. V.C.H. *Lancashire*, iii. 437. On the volte face of the Athertons in the 1722 county election see Baines, *op. cit.* iv. 337 and 346. Thomas Willis was elected an alderman with Barrymore at the Easter Leet 1723. Sinclair, *op. cit.* ii. 185.

² Crawford MSS., Barrymore to Bradshaigh, 1 December, 3 August, 6 September and 6 October 1724; Leigh to Bradshaigh, 7 March 1724/5; 15 March 1725/6 and 22 May 1726.

³ *Ibid.* "Case relating to the borough of Wigan with Thos. Reave's opinion. 6 September 1725." There are many detailed letters from Leigh to Bradshaigh on this conflict.

⁴ *Ibid.* Barrymore to Bradshaigh, 1 February 1725/6.

Atherton's lay behind the opposition, that of Lord Malpas, Sir Robert Walpole's son-in-law.¹ While Barrymore and Leigh negotiated with Kenyon and Willis on a local basis, Bradshaigh busied himself in London to alienate Malpas from his Lancashire supporters. Malpas was a danger to Bradshaigh as much as to Barrymore, for Willis, as Barrymore reported, "talk't much off Lord Malpass and Sir Robert Walpole's intrest and ask't mee what I thought you would doe; I told him I knew you to bee soe much Sir Robert's humble servant that if he desired you shou'd resign next election to Lord Malpass I was sure you would; he said then there can bee noe dispute, for Mr. Atherton gives it up; I told him four years was a greate while . . .". Later in the same month, when Bradshaigh was not having the success he had hoped for in London, Barrymore advised:

If you find Lord Malpass will not desist, as it appears to mee is not the design, since he tells you what you mention, try if he can bee prevail'd on to write a letter downe that he wishes the dispute was ended by a refference in which he will not in the least interpose, for he finds his best friends are against his meddling in the matter; but as he promisst them, he will perform his word as far as the dispute concerning the last election is, but afterwards will not interfere any further; this will bee a damp in the contrey and a meanes to you to try what you may expect. If this point cannot be gain'd make a compliment off the matter to Sir R[obert] and give it up to him, and that you'll acquaint mee with your intentions which you are sure I will comply with.

I need not tell you that 'tis not your bussiness to have any contest where he's soe nearly concern'd; as for my selfe I shall doe pritty well, being perfectly easie at the worst that can happen. . . .²

Leigh advised Bradshaigh to treat the "great men" in London in their own way, and to let them think that he would stand aside in the next election, so that "the generality of our adversaries will rest satisfied with their imaginary conquest, and cease to tempt our friends from us".³ Malpas remained a

¹ Lord Malpas, the heir of the 2nd Earl of Cholmondeley, married Walpole's daughter in 1723; he succeeded his father in 1733. G.E.C., *Complete Peerage*. He was related on his mother's side to Sir John Bridgeman. Bridgeman, *op. cit.* pt. iii, p. 628.

² Crawford MSS., Barrymore to Bradshaigh, 12 December 1725 and 11 January 1725/6.

³ *Ibid.* Leigh to Bradshaigh, 4 February 1725/6.

sinister figure in the background of the negotiations, although by May, Willis was doubtful of the wholeheartedness of his support: in 1727 he sat for Ilchester, and nothing was heard of his threat at Wigan.¹

The spring of 1726 was occupied in preparations for the Easter Leet and in careful calculations of the relative strength of each side on the jury. The Haigh burgesses had always been a *bloc* to be reckoned with, and Leigh was in favour of conceding to the opposition that persons not inhabiting the town could become jurors if they occupied their own lands there, for, as he pointed out to Bradshaigh, "your tenants lye contiguous enough to become occupiers of your lands on the other side Douglas". He was busy, too, arranging for outlying burgesses from Ince, York, and Newcastle, to come and occupy their lands, at least in appearance.² After much haggling over the composition of the jury, Barrymore adjourned the court without swearing a jury, to avoid the opposition's threat to renew legal proceedings. The summer was spent in taking legal opinions, in keeping friends united, in two cases by payment of 2s. 6d. a week, and in adjourning the court repeatedly until after the end of the legal term.³ The number of in-burgesses qualified for the jury on each side ran very close but nothing more is heard of the law-suit, and there are indications that Bradshaigh and Barrymore were victorious in the borough. The new Mayor was Legh Master, the nephew of Peter Legh of Lyme and member for Newton from 1727 to 1747: he was an independent figure, but appears to have entered on some agreement with Bradshaigh and Barrymore.⁴

¹ Lancashire Record Office, Kenyon MSS., Tho. Willis to George Kenyon, 13 May 1726.

² Crawford MSS., Leigh to Bradshaigh, 15 February and 15 March 1725/6. At the previous Easter Leet, Leigh had advised Bradshaigh that it was not worth the expense of bringing in the outlying burgesses. Ibid. 7 March 1724/5.

³ Ibid. Leigh to Bradshaigh, 17 April 1726.

⁴ Ibid. Barrymore to Bradshaigh, 28 July 1727: at the poll for the election of the Mayor, Barrymore and Bradshaigh voted for Master, but Willis gave no vote. Wigan Public Library, Court Leet Roll no. 135. Legh Master acquired New Hall in the neighbouring parish of Winwick by marriage; he sat for Newton 1727-47. In December 1741 Williams Wynn wrote to Francis Price: "I think Mr. Lee of Lyme and others should insist on Lee Master attending his duty", i.e. in the Commons. H.M.C. *Puleston MSS.*, p. 324.

The next election came unexpectedly early, owing to the death of George I, and caught Barrymore on the wrong foot. The out-burgesses he had created to be a bulwark against Lord Malpas now seemed less reliable, and, though fairly confident of their support, he was driven to apologize to Bradshaigh: "I hope in those gentlemen I made burgess I have done you noe harm."¹ The threat came from Peter Bold, who had been encouraged by the mayor, and was supported by Willis, Kenyon, and William Clayton of Adlington. The Bold electoral interest in the county had lapsed after the death of Richard Bold, a county member, in 1704, during the minority of his son, Peter. It was now so far revived that Bold threatened to stand for the county because Shuttleworth had canvassed for Bradshaigh and Barrymore.² Contrary to the usual custom, the mayor could not be persuaded by Leigh to increase the number of Bradshaigh's friends, and adjourned the Court Leet hurriedly.³ Barrymore met with difficulties not only from Bradshaigh's friends but from his own. His letter to Lyme, apologising for opposing Peter Legh's interest in the person of Bold, but justifying himself as the defender, received an unsatisfactory answer and he concluded that "there's treachery and underhand dealing somewhere". At a late stage, when Barrymore had made sure of the Chester contingent of voters and Thomas Pigott was taking care of the Manchester side, Legh Master came unexpectedly to Rock Savage with a compromise proposal. Bold was to be let in by arrangement at this election, but at the next Barrymore was to sit: in the meantime, the Corporation was to be free from alteration. Barrymore refused, but discovered that Master was so tied

¹ Crawford MSS., Barrymore to Bradshaigh, 7 July 1727.

² Peter Bold was of Bold Hall, V.C.H. *Lancashire*, iv. 406. He was M.P. Wigan 1727-34, and for the county 1736-41, on Sir Edward Stanley's succeeding to the earldom of Derby. He is described by Pink and Beavan as a Tory, *op. cit.* p. 85. Crawford MSS., Barrymore to Bradshaigh, undated letter obviously *cf.* 1727. Before Barrymore had come over from Ireland, Leigh had suggested to Bradshaigh that Master should try how far Bold "stands inclin'd to come into termes for your security if my Lord Barrymore comes not over very soon". *Ibid.* 18 July 1727.

³ *Ibid.* Leigh to Bradshaigh, 18 and 27 July 1727.

that he could not vote for either himself or Bradshaigh, and that if Bold came in without agreement all would be lost. A full account of this to Bradshaigh ended with a plea that "if you can persuade your friends to stick fast now the work is for ever over".¹ Barrymore, however, found it advisable not to contest the election, and at the last minute two agreements were drawn up: one of proposals by Bold to Barrymore, and the other signed by Legh Master.² The former, signed by Bold and Master and twenty out-burgesses, stipulated that Barrymore should stand down in favour of Bold, but that at the next election Bold and his supporters would assist Bradshaigh and Barrymore, and that nothing should be done in the meantime to weaken the latter's interest in the borough. In the event of a vacancy for or within the county during the next Parliament, the signatories would give Barrymore their interests. Master undertook to leave the Barrymore-Bradshaigh interest in its existing state at the end of his mayoralty, with the single exception of creating his brother an honorary burgess, and agreed to admit only those on the jury who had been on it at the previous Michaelmas and Easter Leets. Of the twenty signatories of the first agreement, ten had been made burgesses by Barrymore in 1725-6. Some of Barrymore's particular friends were in the list, which represented a large *bloc* of the Tory interest in the county: it included Richard Shuttleworth, Thomas Hesketh, Thomas Assheton, Thomas Townley, Sir Thomas Standish, Silvester Richmond, William Clayton of Adlington, and Thomas Kenyon.³ The agreement was strictly fulfilled: Bold was returned as member; Legh Master created only one other burgess, his brother Streynsham Master, and in 1731, when a by-election occurred at Preston, "some gentlemen who thought themselves under engagements by what they

¹ Crawford MSS., Barrymore to Bradshaigh, 17 August 1727 and undated letter.

² The two agreements are among the Crawford MSS.

³ Standish had voted for Bridgeman and Finch in 1708; Richmond and Clayton for Bridgeman in 1702. Richmond had been recommended by Barrymore to the Earl of Oxford for the stewardship of the Rivers manorial courts. B.M. Portland MSS. 29 July 1720. Thomas Kenyon was the second son of Roger Kenyon, brother of George Kenyon.

sign'd formerly at Wigan" offered to support Barrymore there, but he declined. The compromise served the interest of Barrymore and Bradshaigh in the long run: at the next election the signatories were held to their agreement, and Barrymore exulted that "the compromise has effectually answered our ends. I have often stil'd that dayes work the funerall off our opposers."¹ The election of 1727 strongly suggests that, given a mayor of their own persuasion, a *bloc* of out-burgesses could enforce its views. The letters of this year have few references to the attitude of the in-burgesses, though there was some hostility to Barrymore still, but the real difficulty of the joint interest was that they had an unco-operative mayor.² The links between the electoral affairs of Wigan and Liverpool emerged clearly in this election. Thomas Brereton (reputed to be an election agent of Lord Malpas) had been made a Wigan burgess in 1725 under Bradshaigh's mayoralty: in 1727 he threatened to deny Barrymore the eighteen votes at Liverpool, and boasted afterwards of his victory. In 1729, however, when Brereton stood for re-election at Liverpool, after gaining office, Barrymore assisted his opponent, the anti-courtier Sir Thomas Aston, and canvassed Robert Holt and the Wigan Town Clerk for the votes they exercised there: after the election he claimed to have contributed his mite to Brereton's downfall. The two clashed also in the politics of Chester, where Barrymore was a freeman from 1722.³

VI

After 1727 there was a relaxation of tension, to which the death in 1728 of Kenyon, the Recorder, contributed. The filling of the vacancy offered an opportunity for division, for Barrymore backed his friend Thomas Pigott, while Bradshaigh

¹ Crawford MSS., Barrymore to Bradshaigh, 27 September 1731 and 23 September 1733.

² *Ibid.* Leigh to Bradshaigh, 18 August 1727.

³ H.M.C. *Egmont Diary*, i. 87; Crawford MSS., Barrymore to Bradshaigh, 18 and 30 May 1729. Bradshaigh had not interested himself for Brereton in 1729. For Barrymore's views on Brereton's interference in Chester, see H.M.C. *Puleston MSS.* pp. 313-14.

favoured Thomas Ashurst, his adviser in 1713 and Vice Chancellor of the Duchy since 1727. In order to avoid a division in the borough Leigh did not show Barrymore's letter to the burgesses, who sent up a petition for filling the vacancy, leaving Bradshaigh to fill in the name. Barrymore acquiesced, assuring his partner that "Mr. Pigott is too much a man off honour and my friend to sollicit or sufferr his friends to make use of that as a handle to give you the least disturbance".¹ Both Leigh's and Barrymore's letters in the 'thirties contain frequent congratulations on the peacefulness and good temper of the borough. There was a drastic reduction in the number of burgesses created: in 1734 Barrymore wrote to Bradshaigh agreeing that "we have noe manner off need for more in or out burgesses".² Far from there being disputes over the mayoralty, the problem was to find suitable men willing to hold the office. Its expense seems to have been a real deterrent: in 1739 Thomas Bankes was only persuaded with extreme difficulty, after a promise to relieve him of the financial burdens by payments from Barrymore and out of the Corporation's rents. In 1741 Barrymore himself offered to hold the office "to prevent any slurr to bee thrown on it", while in 1742 five burgesses refused before a mayor was found. Particular care was taken in choosing a mayor for the election year of 1733-4.³ The election of 1734 passed over surprisingly easily. In April 1733, sympathizing with Bradshaigh over an indisposition, Barrymore had observed: "as this hurly burly about the Excise is like to continue for some time I shou'd not have been sorry if your feet had been weak till 'twas over, you may guess at what I mean and that with no other view but your owne ease

¹ W. R. Williams, *Official Lists of the Duchy and County of Lancaster* (1901), p. 74. Ashurst stood unsuccessfully in 1727 at Liverpool, where he was also Recorder. Crawford MSS., Barrymore to Bradshaigh, 18 February 1728 9; Leigh to Bradshaigh, 20 and 31 December 1728.

² Ibid. Barrymore to Bradshaigh, undated "Saturday 1 o'clock", but clearly referring to 1734.

³ Ibid. Barrymore to Bradshaigh, 29 May 1739: Bankes declared that "his family had suffer'd very much by that office". Barrymore to Bradshaigh, 19 September 1741, 25 August 1733, Leigh to Bradshaigh, 24 October 1742.

here after". When, later in the year, manoeuvres began for the election, Barrymore used his influence with the Tories to avert a contest at Wigan. He approached Sir Watkin Williams Wynn to use his interest with "the hott men that noe opposition might bee given at Wigan, but that wee may proceed according to our agreement", and was anxious that Bradshaigh should agree to Williams Wynn becoming a burgess, "with this view that I am positive he would come and vote for you and mee, and by that he might prevent the ill designs off others who would not differr with him in an affairr off that nature". In August he wrote encouragingly: "I have my agents with the hott men and keep a constant correspondence with them on our owne affairrs I have alsoe my advocates that ply them all to prevent the folly and expence off a contest at Wigan." By the end of September Barrymore had assurance from Pigott that he and Bradshaigh would meet with no opposition.¹ A curious cross current in this election concerned Sir Henry Hoghton, who was threatened by Shuttleworth's son at Preston. Hoghton had always been one of Bradshaigh's supporters, but Barrymore was also strongly attached to him: in 1733 he declared: "I owe him [Hoghton] soe many obligations for his favour at the last election att Wigan that, if it lyes in my power to serve him, I will at all risques, lett who's will bee angry or pleas'd".² There seems to have been a certain insistence on the rights of the in-burgesses in the later 'thirties: in 1738 a resolution of the Common Hall restricted the mayor's right to make honorary burgesses to two, not under the degree of esquire, on the grounds that recently large numbers of out-burgesses had been sworn to the detriment of the in-burgesses' rights; in 1741, too, Leigh questioned whether the jury would approve of a non-resident mayor, when Barrymore offered to stand.³

¹ Crawford MSS., Barrymore to Bradshaigh, 8 April, 17 May, 8 June, 7 August and 23 September 1733.

² Ibid. Barrymore to Bradshaigh, 7 August 1733.

³ Ibid. Copy of the Order of 20 September 1738. There seem to have been periodic assertions of these rights, e.g. in 1691, 1703, and 1726. Ibid. Leigh to Bradshaigh, 8 and 11 September 1741.

VII

The beginning of the next decade, however, saw the break-up of the combination of circumstances which had made for peace in the borough. In 1740 Robert Holt died, leaving his family, particularly Edward Holt and Leigh, at variance.¹ The next year Leigh's son, Robert, the Town Clerk, died, and a many-sided conflict arose, influential in-burgesses each pressing a favourite candidate. Altogether there were five candidates, and in view of the approaching parliamentary election the choice was postponed. Barrymore and Bradshaigh appear not to have interfered in the choice, in accordance with a declaration before the burgesses.² The contest added fuel to Edward Holt's quarrel with Leigh, and he wrote indignantly to Bradshaigh, marvelling that his brother-in-law, "whose great stake in the Navigation you are to manage the next session of Parliament, should dare to busy himself so much in the affair contrary to your inclination in making mischief amongst us". To both Leigh and Holt Bradshaigh returned soft answers, pointing out that he had refrained from interfering, realizing that he must disoblige one friend or another.³ Unfortunately, the new Town Clerk, Leigh's nephew John Wiswall, died in 1745. The fresh contest divided the borough; Holt and Leigh backed one Berry, and another influential group favoured John Pennington. Leigh and Holt secured a petition for Berry, but after complaints by Pennington's supporters a fresh petition in his favour was forwarded by Bradshaigh to the Duke of Newcastle.⁴

¹ Crawford MSS., Barrymore to Bradshaigh, 22 September 1740; Leigh to Bradshaigh, 7 August, 20 September and 6 October 1741.

² Ibid. Leigh to Bradshaigh, 10 April, 20 and 31 July 1741.

³ Ibid. Holt to Bradshaigh, 11 August 1741. Holt objected to the Mayor's proceedings on the ground that "the better end of the Corporation" had not been consulted. Bradshaigh to Leigh and to Holt, copies or drafts of 15 August 1741.

⁴ Ibid. Several letters from burgesses to Bradshaigh, complaining of the Mayor, Edward Holt's conduct in securing a petition in favour of Berry. Copy of Bradshaigh's letter to Newcastle (undated, Saturday evening) on behalf of John Pennington, who was appointed March 1745/6. George Winstanley to Bradshaigh, 13 June 1746.

A more serious disturbance of the *status quo* was caused by the death of the Rector, and the appointment in 1741, for the first time, of a Bridgeman: this was Dr. Roger Bridgeman, nephew of Orlando Bridgeman. He at once renewed the old dispute with the Corporation, and attempted to hold a Court Leet in spite of the mayor; a law suit between the Rector and the Corporation ensued, which was still pending in 1750. Leigh believed that the Rector aimed at dividing power with the Corporation, and at electing burgesses by his own authority.¹ The law suit introduced a new element into the borough's affairs, for it made the Corporation dependent on anyone who could and would assist them with the costs: this proved to be Barrymore and to a lesser extent, Leigh.² Aldersey had been Rector since 1714, and Thomas Ashurst had been Recorder since 1728, but both disappeared from the Wigan scene within two years. Early in 1743 Ashurst, by then over seventy, resigned the Recordership. Barrymore again favoured Pigott, but "the general bent", and the Mayor, John Markland, were for Richard Clayton of Adlington. Again, Bradshaigh and Barrymore (then in Ireland) do not seem to have interfered, and Clayton's name was sent by Bradshaigh to Newcastle as the Corporation's recommendation.³

The changed situation at Wigan in the mid-'forties is reflected in the only extensive evidence on this period among the Crawford manuscripts, the voluminous letters to Bradshaigh of George Winstanley.⁴ Winstanley was a devoted follower

¹ Bridgeman, *op. cit.* pt. iii, pp. 628-32; Crawford MSS., Leigh to Bradshaigh, 25 April 1742.

² *Ibid.* Winstanley to Bradshaigh, undated, but apparently an afterthought to letter of 23 January 1746/7; 12 October 1746. A few years before, Barrymore had given £100 to the Corporation. 8 January 1746/7.

³ *Ibid.* Leigh to Bradshaigh, 2 January, 22 and 25 February 1742/3; B.M. Add. MS. 32,992, fol. 163, Bradshaigh to Newcastle, undated. Clayton was the grandson of a Liverpool merchant who had bought the manor of Adlington (Lancs.) at the end of the seventeenth century, and a brother of William Clayton who had supported Bold in 1727. He sat for Wigan 1747-54, and became Chief Justice of Common Pleas in Ireland in 1765. T. C. Porteus, *History of Standish* (1927), p. 219.

⁴ There are forty-five letters from Winstanley, a few of 1744 and 1745, but the great majority from the summer of 1746 to February 1747. Much space is

of Bradshaigh, by whose favour he had in 1745 obtained a Window Tax post. He was of much lower social standing than Leigh, whom he seems to have replaced as an informant, and after his removal from Wigan in July 1746, he was dependent for news on others: his chief "correspondent's" informant was the barber who shaved Leigh and Holt.¹ Nevertheless, the letters provide a detailed picture of an electoral interest, somewhat neglected and in decline. There is only one letter from Leigh to Bradshaigh after February 1743, and by 1745 they seem to have parted company. The single exception was a somewhat cool reply to Bradshaigh's appeal for support at the forthcoming election. Leigh, though prepared to uphold his promise to support Bradshaigh and Barrymore while their interests were united, felt a sense of injury both for the loss of Bradshaigh's friendship, and for his refusal to fulfil an agreement for the delivery of cannel.² The lack of such a confidential friend in the borough was serious, and Winstanley recognized that "Your Honour is at a great loss in not having a proper Substantial Mannaiger in Wigan, who shou'd be a Man of Sense and Substance".³ This loss was made worse by Bradshaigh's lengthy absences from Wigan occasioned partly by illness: he was absent at a crucial time just before the Michaelmas Leet in 1745, and apparently throughout 1746 until his death in February 1747. Since 1742 his eldest son had been in possession of Haigh itself, and Bradshaigh had had little private business to bring him to Wigan in 1745. Moreover, he had ceased to write to his friends as formerly, "which gives people to believe and say you don't design to stand as member longer then this present Parliament". Altogether, by August 1746 Winstanley was speaking of the Haigh

given to Winstanley's fight against the assessment of his salary for Land Tax. His cousin, Thomas Winstanley, was given the curacy of Upholland in 1746, by Dr. Bridgeman in whose gift it lay. V.C.H. *Lancashire*, iv. 97.

¹ Crawford MSS., Winstanley to Bradshaigh, 14 September 1746.

² The letters from Leigh in February 1743 are friendly, which suggests that some may be missing. Winstanley's references to Leigh and Holt are hostile. Leigh's final letter is of 14 February 1746/7.

³ *Ibid.* Winstanley to Bradshaigh, 2 January 1746/7.

interest as in danger of extinction, and bewailing the ingratitude of the Wiganers.¹

Bradshaigh's behaviour was in contrast to the activity of other interests preparing for the election. Though Barrymore himself did not intend to stand, his eldest son, Richard Barry, was a candidate, and his two younger sons were made burgesses in September 1746. But during the summer Richard Clayton began to make interest in Wigan and the neighbourhood: he treated the in-burgesses, promising several he would give them bonds to indemnify them from the law-suit in return for their votes, and made approaches to Legh Master and to the Liverpool voters. So great was both Leigh and Holt's dislike of this rival influence in the town, that Holt was reported to intend to stand against him. There were signs, however, that Barrymore intended to join his interest to Clayton's.² During this very active summer Bradshaigh had made no move, and it was left to Winstanley to suggest that he send to the Town Clerk for an up-to-date list of burgesses.³ By a curious twist, the burgesses on whom Bradshaigh had to rely were those who had supported the Rector, since they alone were not under fear of the law-suit and thus financially dependent on Barrymore: to the bewilderment of some of the burgesses Bradshaigh's relations with Bridgeman were friendly.⁴ The state of the Haigh influence is revealed by Winstanley's sending

¹ Crawford MSS., Winstanley to Bradshaigh, 16 August 1745, 17 August and 12 October 1746; undated letter probably of 1746: "Pray consider what a number of letters you sent the last year and what care I am sure was used in seconding them and all to no purpose for want of your personal appearance." Contrast Barrymore to Bradshaigh, 23 October 1724: "... believe you scarce think of London till you have made all sure." Winstanley begged Bradshaigh to send his son, Captain Charles Bradshaigh, down to uphold his interest. Undated letter.

² Ibid. Winstanley to Bradshaigh, 4 and 11 July, 3 and 29 August, 12 October 1746, 2 and 8 January 1746/7.

³ Ibid. 12 October 1746. Pennington enclosed the list with a letter of 5 December 1746.

⁴ Ibid. Winstanley to Bradshaigh, 16 August 1745; Bradshaigh had apparently taken up an equivocal attitude at the beginning of the law suit, and Barrymore had had to write asking for a contradiction of the rumour that "you and the rector have the same interest in relation [to] the dispute with the Corporation". Ibid. 5 October 1743.

to Sir Roger a list of those "that would give single votes as long as the Docter [Bridgeman] and you are in friendship, viz. for the present or next election of Parliament".¹ Bradshaigh was able to secure the influence with the Liverpool voters of Thomas Brereton and Richard Gildart, Receiver of Land Tax in Lancashire, but his handling of the Wigan end was, according to Winstanley, unskilful: he made public his design of standing before he had tried his strength in the election of aldermen and burgesses, and long before he made the personal appearance, planned for May 1747, which was always of such value in this constituency. In his last letter before Bradshaigh's death, Winstanley expressed an opinion that neither Barrymore's nor Clayton's friends would give their second votes to him; this was not through inclination, but because they were tied by the costs of the law suit, and all would give two votes to Barrymore's interest.² The decline of the Bradshaigh position in Wigan electoral affairs, though not among the generality of the town, must be largely attributed to the withdrawal of detailed, active and personal management. Even Clayton, when eventually Bradshaigh announced his intention of standing, declared that had he known of this earlier he would not have stood.³ How the election would have fared if Sir Roger had lived it is impossible to say: Barrymore's interest seems to have been impregnable, and the Recorder's place was influential; moreover, the very day after Bradshaigh's death Kenyon was solicited on Clayton's behalf by Peter Legh.⁴ Sir Roger's heir was not apparently interested in politics, either to the extent of keeping up his father's interest in his lifetime, or of standing for Parliament himself later, and the Haigh influence, after a

¹ Crawford MSS., Winstanley to Bradshaigh, 16 August 1745 and 12 October 1746. In the former letter he enclosed a list of the jury with the influences to which they were subject.

² Ibid. Winstanley to Bradshaigh, 23 October 1746, 20 and 23 January 1746/7. Bradshaigh's letter to George Kenyon, asking for his support and referring to rumours that he did not intend to stand, is dated as late as 10 February 1746/7. Lancashire Record Office, Kenyon MSS.

³ Crawford MSS., Winstanley to Bradshaigh, 9 January 1746/7.

⁴ H.M.C. *Kenyon MSS.*, p. 491. Peter Legh to George Kenyon, 26 February 1746/7. Peter Legh had succeeded his uncle of the same name in 1744.

decline in the 'forties, ceased to be used by a Bradshaigh even before the extinction of the male line in 1770.¹

A study of Bradshaigh's electoral management at Wigan in the eighteenth century bears out Sir Lewis Namier's comments on the narrow constituencies in *The Structure of Politics at the Accession of George III*.² In particular, it illustrates that there was no keeping voters in this constituency without constant attention, and that where the foundations of an electoral interest lay in the nature of human beings there could be no unchangeable certainty. The study suggests, too, the need for a consideration of the electoral interests of Lancashire and Cheshire as a whole, and their ramifications.

¹ Winstanley regretted Roger Bradshaigh's passivity, more especially as his friendship with Lord Derby might have been useful; Leigh was referred to as "servant to Lord Derby". 2 and 9 January 1746/7. The date of the extinction of the male line is taken from A. J. Hawkes' revised genealogy.

² L. B. Namier, *The Structure of Politics at the Accession of George III*, i (1929), 166-7 and 169.

WORSHIP AND FESTIVALS IN AN EGYPTIAN TEMPLE¹

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MOST of the many temples of Pharaonic Egypt now lie in ruins. Most of them were being built, modified or added to over so many centuries that they preserve little homogeneity and it is difficult for the ordinary visitor to gain any fair idea of their original nature and condition, still less to imagine how they could have been used for worship. The latest temples to be built in Egypt, those of the Ptolemaic Period (and especially the Temples of Edfu and Denderah), differ from those of Pharaonic times by their preservation, and by the nature and extent of the reliefs and inscriptions that cover their walls.

The texts in these late temples include long descriptions of the temple room by room, each room, hall, or part of the building being named and its purpose, decoration and dimensions recorded. Each room and hall usually contains additional texts that repeat its name and give further information concerning its use. Similarly, each door is named and bears texts that state when and for what purpose it was used. Another long series of texts records the festivals celebrated in the temple throughout the year, indicates the date and duration of each, and sometimes outlines the ceremonies performed. An independent series of longer texts describes in greater detail some of the more important festivals.

This rich treasure of inscriptional material, illustrated as it often is by well-preserved reliefs, enables us to describe the

¹ An expanded version of a lecture given at the John Rylands Library on Wednesday the 13th of January, 1954.

The abbreviations employed in the notes are those normally used in Egyptological publications, with the following additions: *CD* = E. Chassinat, *Le temple de Dendara*, vols. i-v; *E* = E. Chassinat, *Le temple d'Edfou*, vols. i-xiv; *MD* = A. Mariette, *Dendérah*, vols. i-iv.

function of every part of the temple from the smallest chapel to the largest hall, from the gargoyles and water-spouts¹ to the pylons and obelisks. It is possible to reconstruct the furnishing and equipment of certain rooms, to tell when, how and where the offerings were prepared, to indicate the precise doors through which they were introduced into the temple, to trace the order of the ritual and the route of the great processions, and even to know what happened to the offerings after the services and festivals were ended. Moreover, there is evidence that in general the texts are based on sound ancient tradition, that in vocabulary and content they often go back to the early days of Egyptian civilization, and that, if used with due care and discretion, they provide us with a unique and exceedingly rich source-book of Egyptian religious practice.

Among all these Ptolemaic temples, that of Edfu occupies a unique position. It is the only one that was completed; it was built within a comparatively short space of time and therefore appears to us today as a unity; and in the 2,000 years since its completion it has suffered only comparatively slight damage. The main temple is intact, its roof is complete, all its columns are in position, and only the obelisks at the entrance and some small chapels on the roof have disappeared, while the sacred lake, the temple storehouses, abbatoirs, and other buildings of an administrative nature still lie deeply buried under the houses of the modern town to the east of the temple.

The temple of Edfu thus affords us our best opportunity of studying a complete Egyptian temple and the varied religious activities that took place within it day by day throughout the year. In this paper I propose to give a very brief account of daily worship and of some of the great calendar festivals that were celebrated in the temple. My purpose is merely to describe in barest outline religious practice, as recorded in the texts and reliefs of the temple, and lack of space will prevent me from entering into great detail or even attempting proper justification of views that may differ from those of other scholars. For the same reason I have had to abstain from any serious attempt to

¹ C. de Wit, "Les inscriptions des lions-gargouilles du temple d'Edfou", *Chronique d'Egypte*, no. 57 (Janvier 1954), 29-45.

explain the religious and mythological significance of the festivals and the individual ceremonies, for in fact each festival requires a complete book for its proper exposition.

Before, however, we can consider the religious activities in the temple throughout the year, it is essential to give some idea of the building and its history. The Temple of Edfu is dedicated to Horus the Behdetite, a falcon god who is usually represented as a man with the head of a falcon: the temple contained statues of the god in this form, and also in purely bird form. Adjacent to the temple there was also a Temple of the Sacred Falcon, and here there lived and reigned, for a year at a time, a living falcon, whose selection and coronation formed one of the greatest annual festivals (see below pp. 189-92).

There were three main phases in the building of the temple. The original nucleus, itself a complete temple with a hypostyle hall, two other halls, sanctuary and numerous side chapels, was commenced in 237 B.C. and dedicated in 142 B.C. To the south of this was added between 140 and 124 B.C. the Pronaos or Outer Hypostyle. Finally, the foundations of the Forecourt, the stone enclosure wall and the pylons were laid in 116 B.C.; the dedication ceremony was celebrated in 71 B.C., but the decoration of the temple does not appear to have been finally completed, and the great doors of the pylon were not hung, until 57 B.C. The whole temple thus took 180 years to complete.

This great building lay within a vast enclosure surrounded by a massive brick wall, the main entrance being to the south, slightly to the west of the main axis of the temple. The precise extent of this enclosure is unknown, for the existing brick walls are to a great extent modern, and all that part of the enclosure to the east of the temple lies buried under the modern town. The inscriptions tell us, however, that it was in this buried eastern section that were situated the sacred lake, the temple abbatoirs, kitchens, storehouses, and stock-yards for cattle and birds of various kinds. Here also there must presumably have been a sacred grove in which the sacred falcons were reared, in addition to administrative offices, and probably houses for some of the priests. Immediately outside the temenos, west of the main

entrance and at right angles to the temple, is the Mammisi, or Birth-Temple, and facing it to the east there must have been the Temple of the Sacred Falcon, of which all traces have now disappeared except for the base of what was apparently an altar or offering table.¹ Finally, some distance to the west or south-west lay what is called the "upper temple" and other edifices of uncertain nature which played an important part in the ceremonies connected with the joint festival of the Sacred Marriage and the Festival of Behdet (see below, pp. 196-200): the position of this upper temple is still unknown.

The temple² is oriented from south to north. Before each wing of the Pylon there were originally two masts and an obelisk which have now disappeared. Over the main door (A) and between the wings of the Pylon was the *Balcony of the Falcon*, reached from the Forecourt (1) by stairs in the eastern wing of the Pylon.

The Forecourt (1) was a vast open court with a colonnade of thirty-two columns to south, east and west, and with two doors in each of its east and west walls. The most important and biggest of these four doors was the south-eastern one (B), and through it Hathor entered the temple on her arrival at Edfu at the beginning of the Festival of the Sacred Marriage after having entered the temple enclosure through a door in the now buried east temenos wall.³ The most frequent names of the Forecourt were *Court of Offering*,⁴ *Court of the Pylon*,⁵ and *Court of Appearance*.⁶ There must presumably have been an altar here, but all traces of this have disappeared. Great burnt offerings were made in this court at the New Year Festival, and probably on certain other occasions, and it is sometimes stated that offerings were made there to Rē thrice daily; pre-

¹ E. Chassinat, *Le Mammisi d'Edfou*, pp. viii-xiii; revised Pl. I (printed in Fasc. 2, Cairo, 1939); Pl. LVI.

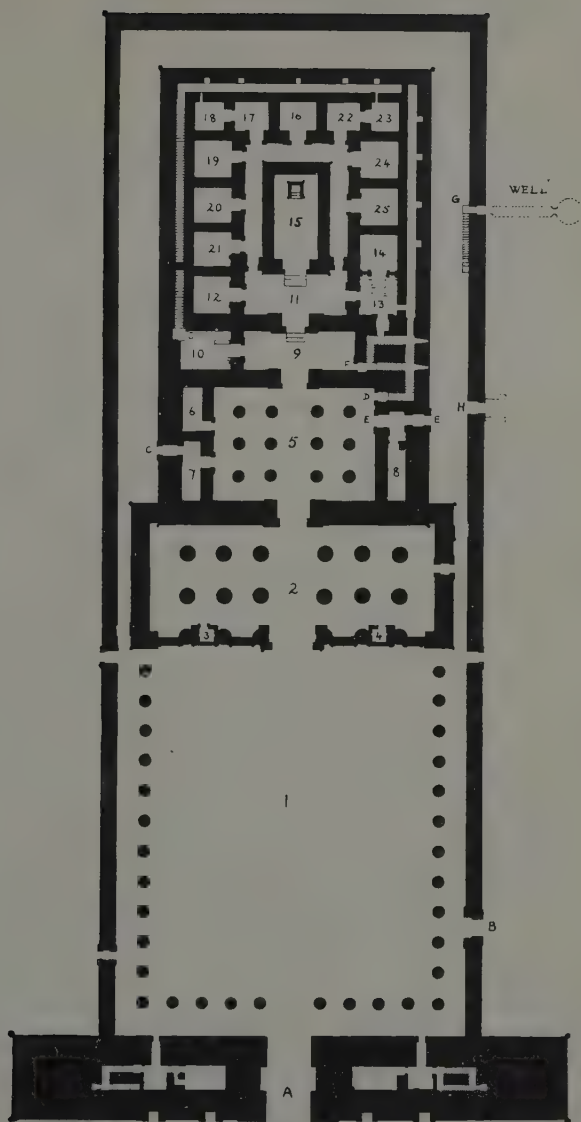
² See the plan in Fig. 1. The Arabic numerals in parentheses after the names of parts of the temple refer to the numbered rooms and halls of the plan; the capital letters refer to the doors.

³ E. vi. 7, 5-8, 1; vii. 18, 10-19, 2. Cf. the texts of welcome on the eastern jambs of this door, E. v. 370, 11-371, 9; 374, 3-14.

⁴ E. i. 554, 1; iii. 355, 7; v. 2, 2; 305, 3; vii. 5, 3; 18, 6-7; 19, 4.

⁵ E. vii. 9, 4.

⁶ E. iii. 355, 6; v. 5, 5.



THE TEMPLE OF EDFU

(Adapted from Chassinat, *Le temple d'Edfou*, IX, Pl. I)

sumably these offerings were made on special festivals, for the three services of the ordinary daily ritual were celebrated in the Sanctuary.

To the north of the Forecourt lay the Pronaos or Outer Hypostyle (2), the *Fore-Hall* or *Great Court* as it was most usually called. It was both higher and wider than the rest of the temple to the north of it and contained twelve great columns. Its south wall was composed of a screen wall, to about half the height of the hall, with three engaged columns on either side of the entrance, thus, in contrast with the rest of the temple, ensuring that it was reasonably well lighted. There was a service door in the east wall. Two small chapels were built against the south wall: to the west of the main door, the *House of the Morning* (3) for the purification of the King before performing the ritual, and to the east the *House of Books* (4), the temple library, containing a selection of the books required for the services; a lector priest was on duty here throughout the day.

Beyond the Pronaos lies the original nucleus of the temple. First, a hypostyle hall (5) called the *Great Court*,¹ or *Great Pillared Hall*,² or, less frequently, the *Court of Festival*.³ At the north-west corner of this hall was the *Laboratory* (6) in which incense and unguents were prepared, and to the south of it the *Room of the Nile* (7) which had in its west wall an antechamber and door (C) leading to the ambulatory; it was through this door that the libations were introduced daily into the temple. On the east side of the hall was an entrance to the winding stairway (D) leading to the roof, a passage (E) through the east wall by which the daily offerings were introduced, and, south of the passage, the temple *Treasury* (8) in which the more valuable equipment and cultus vessels were kept.

Beyond the Inner Hypostyle lay the *Hall of Offerings*⁴ (9), having to its west the antechamber to the western stairway (10), and to its east the chief entrance to the winding, eastern stairway (F). To the north lay the *Central Hall*⁵ or *Place where the Gods Repose*,⁶ or *Hall of the Ennead*⁷ (11), where the

¹ E. vii. 17, 3.

² E. iv. 6, 4.

³ E. ii. 11, 13.

⁴ E. iv. 6, 3; vii. 16, 5.

⁵ E. iv. 5, 12; vii. 15, 7.

⁶ E. iv. 5, 12; vii. 15, 8.

⁷ E. iv. 13, 13.

portable shrines of the co-templar divinities were kept, and to its west the *Chapel of Min*¹ (12). On the east of the Central Hall a door leads to two rooms that play an important part in the temple year: the southernmost is called *Food-altar*² (13) and is open to the sky, its north wall being the façade of a special room, at a slightly higher level, called the *Pure Place*³ (14); it was in these two rooms that some of the preliminary rites of the Festival of Raiment and the New Year Festival were celebrated.

The north wall of the Central Hall was occupied by the façade of the Sanctuary and the doors of the corridor that surround it. The Sanctuary or Holy of Holies (15), the *Great Seat*⁴ as it is usually called, is in fact a small and complete rectangular chapel, with its own roof and no external lighting, set within the larger framework of the temple. Its principal contents were a great black granite naos, still to be seen there, containing the cultus images, and the portable boat-shrines of Horus and Hathor that were used in certain processions. In the Sanctuary was celebrated the daily liturgy.

Surrounding the Sanctuary, and separated from it by a corridor, is a series of small chapels. The first and most important of these (16), called *Mesen*,⁵ or the *Mansion of Valour*,⁶ or *Pleasant-to-live-in*,⁷ is situated on the axis of the temple immediately behind the Sanctuary. This room contained a naos of black granite that housed two shrines containing statues of Horus in falcon form and of Hathor. Close to the naos was a statue of another form of Horus, the Falcon of Gold. Also kept in this room were the two sacred lances of Horus.⁸

To the west of the Mesen-room lies the room called the *Crypt*⁹ (17), with its annexe (18) or *Mansion of the Prince*.¹⁰ These two rooms, together with the first room on the west side of the corridor, the *Privy Chamber of the Crypt*¹¹ (19), were

¹ E. iv. 6, 2; vii. 15, 9.

² E. iv. 6, 2; vii. 16, 1.

³ E. iv. 6, 2; vii. 16, 1.

⁴ E. iv. 5, 9-11; 13, 12; vii. 15, 3-7.

⁵ E. iv. 13, 7; vii. 13, 1.

⁶ E. iv. 5, 1; 13, 7.

⁷ E. iv. 13, 7.

⁸ M. Alliot, *Le culte d'Horus à Edfou au temps des Ptolémées*, i. 314-25; quoted henceforth as Alliot, *Culte*.

⁹ E. iv. 5, 4; 13, 11; vii. 13, 3.

¹⁰ E. vii. 13, 3.

¹¹ E. iv. 5, 5; vii. 13, 4.

specially connected with the cult and mysteries of Osiris.¹ To the south lay the *Throne of the Gods* ² (20), and the *Mansion of Raiment* ³ (21) which contained the provincial inventory and supplies of coloured cloths and unguent required for the temple services.

To the east of the Mesen-room are the *Mansion of the Leg* ⁴ (22), devoted to Khonsu, and its annexe, the *Chapel of Hathor* ⁵ (23). South of them are the *Throne of Rē* ⁶ (24) in which Rē was supposed to rest and in which the evening service was celebrated, and the *Throne Room* ⁷ (25).

The roof of the temple was reached by two stairways. At certain of the annual festivals the procession made its way up the winding eastern stairway (F) and proceeded along the east side of the roof to a small kiosk, called the *Place of the First Feast*,⁸ that originally stood in the north-eastern corner of the roof. This building is now lost, but it must have been similar to the kiosk of the same name that still exists on the roof of the Temple of Denderah.⁹ The kiosk had two doors, a main one on the south, and a smaller one on the west by which the procession made its way to the descending stairway that began at the north-west corner of the roof. The roof, and above all the Place of the First Feast, was the site of the final and most important rites of the New Year Festival.

The temple was surrounded by a massive stone wall which separated it from the rest of the sacred enclosure. Starting from the Pylon, the wall first formed the east and west walls of the Forecourt, but from the façade of the Pronaos northwards it formed the outer wall of the *Pure Ambulatory* ¹⁰ which encircled the temple. This ambulatory was one of the more sacred parts of the temple enclosure; it was the route of processions, particularly at the Festival of Sokaris, and doors to east and west prevented the uninitiated from entering it. In the east

¹ E. vii. 13, 4-14, 1.

² E. iv. 5, 6; vii. 14, 1-2.

³ E. iv. 5, 6; vii. 14, 2.

⁴ E. iv. 5, 7; 13, 11; vii. 14, 3.

⁵ E. iv. 5, 7-8; vii. 14, 3.

⁶ E. iv. 5, 8.

⁷ E. iv. 5, 8; vii. 14, 5.

⁸ E. vii. 14, 4.

⁹ CD. i. Pls. 40-42; L. Borchardt, *Aegyptische Tempel mit Umgang*, pp. 14-17; Pls. 7 and 8.

¹⁰ E. vi. 12, 5; 348, 11-12.

wall of the ambulatory were two doors : the northernmost (G) led to a passage dug under the foundations of the wall itself and leading to the sacred well from which pure water for the temple service was drawn ; the second door (H) to the south of this gave access to those parts of the temple enclosure that are now buried, and through it were brought all the food and offerings for the temple service, through it entered the temple staff in general, after having purified themselves in the sacred lake, in order to perform their duties in the temple, and finally through it the offerings were taken out of the temple after the service had ended and after the reversion of the offerings to the priests.¹

Apart from the Food-altar (13) and the openings in the façade of the Pronaos, the temple was without any external illumination² except what light filtered through the door between the inner and outer hypostyle, when it was open. The innermost parts of the temple were thus in complete darkness, and the light of the torches used during the services playing on brilliantly coloured reliefs, on the gilded surfaces of doors and shrines, and on the cultus vessels must have increased the sense of awe and majesty and grandeur. This feeling of mystery was heightened by the fact that as one progressed from hall to hall the floor level was raised slightly and the roof level was at the same time lowered.

Such was the setting for the many ceremonies that were celebrated in the temple. It is obvious that the foundation of such a temple must have been accompanied by elaborate ceremonies. Several detailed series of foundation ceremonies have been preserved in the temple, but I do not propose to dwell on them here since they can hardly be included among the normal year to year activities. When all had been completed, however, the temple was dedicated, *handed over to its lord*.³ It is fortunate that an abbreviated version of the Edfu ritual for the dedication of a temple has survived.⁴ The ceremony was

¹ E. vi. 8, 1-3 ; 348, 13-14 ; vii. 18, 3-6.

² There were, however, small windows in the eastern stairway.

³ See JEA. 32, p. 81, n. 32.

⁴ A. M. Blackman and H. W. Fairman, "The Consecration of an Egyptian Temple According to the Use of Edfu", JEA. 32, 75-91.

a combination of the Rite of the Opening of the Mouth and the daily temple ritual, which in essentials were practically identical rites. It is probable that the statues of Horus and the cotemplar divinities were assembled in one of the halls of the temple, possibly the Outer Hypostyle (but see further, p. 187 below). The ceremonies that followed may be conveniently summarized under five heads. First, the statues were purified by libation and censuring and by the presentation of pellets of natron and incense for purifying their mouths. Then the mouths and eyes of the statues were "opened" by manipulations with a variety of instruments. There followed an elaborate toilet: the statues were anointed and arrayed with the headcloth, the four prescribed coloured cloths and the appropriate insignia. After the toilet, a repast was laid before the statues. In the Opening of the Mouth and the Daily Ritual this meal ends the ceremonies, but in the dedication ceremony at Edfu it is followed by a second opening of the mouth. It appears that at this point the priests visited each hall and chapel in the temple, censured and asperged it, and "opened the mouths" of the reliefs. The result of this final act was that not only the statues, but the entire temple, its reliefs and its furnishing became alive and active. "The divinities could now become immanent at will in their figures appearing in the reliefs, while the inanimate objects depicted therein became the actual equivalents of what they represented—food, vessels, floral offerings, and the like."¹ The ceremony was now ended, the statues were returned in state to their resting places, and a special meal was given to the priests and to the craftsmen who had taken part in the building and decoration of the temple. The dedication ceremony was repeated annually, so that year by year the temple was re-consecrated and its life renewed. At Edfu the date of this annual rededication is never explicitly mentioned, but the evidence of earlier times suggests that very probably it took place on New Year's Day² (see p. 187 below).

¹ *JEA.* 32, 90; see also *ibid.* pp. 84, 85.

² See *JEA.* 32, p. 81, n. 32, and the authorities there quoted, to whom should now be added *JNES.* 8, 340-1.

The temple was now built, it had been consecrated and filled with life. What were the activities that were carried on within it? What were the services and festivals that were celebrated throughout the year in the house of the god?

The ceremonies performed in the temple were essentially of two kinds. On the one hand was the Daily Ritual with three main services in the interior of the temple; on the other hand were the calendar festivals, great feasts of varying duration observed at various dates throughout the year. The former were always celebrated within the temple by a limited number of priests, and the laity and general public had no access to them. The latter were always processional and involved stately processions of the divine statues, sometimes only in the temple itself, when the public were excluded, sometimes within the temple enclosure when perhaps the public, to a limited extent, may have been present, and sometimes to other temples outside the temple enclosure when of course the general public could have witnessed and accompanied the procession, though not the more intimate and sacred rites.

In his great study of the festivals of Horus at Edfu, Alliot has given a very fully documented reconstruction of the daily services in the temple.¹ The main outlines of this reconstruction are, I believe, quite correct, but in certain important details I do not think his views are supported by the texts. Alliot speaks of "regular" services and festivals. By "regular" he refers to all services in the Sanctuary, the ordinary daily ritual, and a more elaborate form which he calls "service solennel au sanctuaire". He considers that the latter type of service is concerned with the five great festivals of the lunar month and those of the three decades of the solar month, the difference between these and the normal daily liturgy being that at the "service solennel" the morning service was celebrated more elaborately and with greater pomp and ceremony, the midday

¹ M. Alliot, *Culte*, i. 1-179. Only the first volume of this valuable collection of material concerning the worship of Horus at Edfu has as yet been published. This first volume is concerned with the Daily Ritual, the Calendars, and the New Year Festival. Professor Alliot has published a summary of his complete study under the same title in *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*, 137, 59-104.

and evening services being the same for both types of "regular" liturgy. He claims that all texts in the temple that do not lie on the path of the officiants in the ordinary service, which in his view is only from the middle of the Inner Hypostyle (5) northwards, belong to the solemn service, and that many texts on the actual route of the ordinary service equally concern the solemn service: he admits, in fact, that it is difficult to disentangle the two. Alliot's solution is to attribute all elaborate and rich ceremonies to the solemn service. Alliot further claims that only the two side doors (C and E) of the Inner Hypostyle were open for the daily liturgy, and that through them entered the libation water, the offerings, and the officiating priest. Since all other doors in the temple were, he claims, closed, the king or his deputy could not have entered through the main door of the Pronaos (2) and therefore the normal robing and purification in the House of the Morning (3) could not have been celebrated at the ordinary daily service but the officiating priest was purified at the sacred lake to the east of the temple, and, be it noted, outside the really sacred area.

Although it is certain that there were ceremonies much more elaborate than those of the ordinary daily service, there is nothing to indicate when they were celebrated. It is a reasonable assumption that there were special ceremonies at the festivals of the lunar and solar month, but the Edfu texts are conspicuously silent about them; there is no text that would lead one to suppose that they were a special and more elaborate form of the daily ritual. In the great calendar in the temple of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu the lists distinguish very carefully between the ordinary daily ritual, the "festivals of the sky", and the "festivals of the times" or calendar festivals. It is important to note that at Medinet Habu the feasts of the lunar month are included among the "festivals of the sky".¹ At Edfu I only know of one possible reference

¹ *Medinet Habu* (ed. Chicago), iii. Pl. 148, 318, 367, 391; Pl. 150, 440, 452. Similarly, in the Edfu Nome List the only festivals listed under the Nome of Heliopolis are the "festivals of the sky", all those listed being days of the lunar month (*E.* i. 333, 13). Cf. also *JEA.* 38, 21; Pap. Harris 16b, 13; 34b, 6 = *Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca*, v. 20, 10; 40, 2.

to a feast of the lunar month, and then only in a copy whose complete accuracy is unfortunately suspect. The passage in question, I believe, reads: *The sacred image of Him-who-is-on-his-great-throne is engraved upon its wall together with (those of) the gods who appear with him on every occasion of his feast of the (last) quarter.*¹ The verb "appear" is that normally used in the technical sense "to appear in procession". If my interpretation of this passage is correct, it would appear to indicate that the lunar and solar festivals were processional like the calendar feasts and that they were distinct from the daily liturgy. It would be safer in the present state of our knowledge to postulate only one type of daily service.

The contention that only the side doors of the Pronaos were open at the time of the daily services is contradicted by several passages. There is an explicit statement that the doors of the pylon *are opened in the morning when the Disk rises and are closed in the evening.*² Another text referring to the temple as a whole tells us *its doors are opened at dawn when his rays illumine the earth,*³ and elsewhere it is said of the Pronaos: *Its door-leaves are opened to the Court of Offerings (1) that Rē' may be adored thrice daily. It is entered by the temple staff who perform their duties within it thrice daily.*⁴

The claim that the officiating priest in the daily service entered by the side doors is partly due to this misunderstanding about the opening of the temple, and partly to faulty interpretation of the texts on the side doors. Alliot considers that the priest who censed the libation water as it was brought into the temple was the officiant in the Sanctuary because he must have been the senior priest since he followed the priest who carried the water. Not only do the texts give no hint that any of the priests who entered by the side doors actually celebrated the service in the Sanctuary, but it is explicitly stated that the priest with the incense *preceded* the libation water,⁵ and hence no question of seniority arises. In theory it was the king who performed the service. In practice it is obvious that this was

¹ E. i. 368, 11-12. Alliot, *Culte*, i. 431 translates rather differently.

² E. viii. 58, 14-15.

³ E. i. 20, 1-3 (text on the left).

⁴ E. iii. 355, 7-8; cf. v. 2, 2-3.

⁵ E. ii. 139, 8.

impossible, but the texts give very little definite evidence on the question of the identity of his deputy. In a text concerned with the New Year Festival it is stated that it is the king himself in his capacity of the Great Prince (a special title of the High Priest of Edfu) who enters the chapel, mounts the stairs of the naos and unveils the face of the god.¹ Elsewhere, in obvious references to the daily ritual, we read: *I am a prophet, the son of a prophet. It is the King who commanded me to see the god*; ² or *It is His Majesty who commanded (?) the prophet to [adore] the god*.³ In other passages the king says: *I am he who gazes upon thy mysterious form. It is I who send the prophet to [see the god]*; ⁴ or *I am he who arrays Thy Majesty in raiment; the prophet acts according to my command*.⁵ Since the high priest was a prophet, the senior overseer of prophets in the temple, the texts just quoted may well refer to him. Neither the high priest nor any prophet is ever mentioned as entering by any side door expressly to officiate in the Sanctuary.

I feel equally doubtful about the omission of the rites of the House of the Morning⁶ from the preliminaries to the daily service. The libation water was drawn from the well dug under the east wall of the temple, obviously to ensure extreme purity, and it naturally follows that the waters of the sacred lake, which lay outside the temple wall, were not sufficiently pure for this purpose. It seems hardly likely that the officiating priest who entered the Holy of Holies to unveil, gaze upon, and touch the god should only be cleansed at the sacred lake, and that he should then have to cross a part of the temple enclosure that was less ritually pure than the temple proper. It is incredible that the chief officiant should have been in a state of less ritual purity than the libation. Since I hope I have demonstrated that all the temple doors were open at dawn, there seems no reason to deny that the officiant entered by the main door of the Pronaos

¹ E. i. 554, 3-4.

² E. iii. 83, 10.

³ E. ii. 144, 8; interpreted quite differently by Alliot, *Culte*, i. 15, with n. 2. For this and E. iii. 83, 10, see the parallels in the Rituals of Amun and Mut, P. Berlin 3055, 4, 6-7 = P. Berlin 3014, 3, 10-4, 1 = A. Moret, *Le rituel du culte divin journalier en Egypte*, p. 55.

⁴ E. i. 420, 13 = xii. Pl. 344.

⁵ E. i. 429, 15-16 = xii. Pl. 346.

⁶ Cf. A. M. Blackman, *The House of the Morning* (JEA. 5, 148-65).

and was purified in the House of the Morning. The priests who are mentioned as entering the temple after purification at the Sacred Lake were all junior priests who never penetrated the Sanctuary.

Let us now consider what happened in the Daily Service.¹ One of the most important points that emerges from Alliot's study is that every day there were three main services in the temple, at dawn, at midday and at evening, the morning service being by far the most important, and the midday service the least important. Alliot was the first to establish this very important point, which has been overlooked in all standard works on the cult and worship.

Before dawn an immense amount of preparatory work was necessary. It was the duty of two priests to fill the libation vessel from the sacred well (G), and then, one carrying the vase, and the other walking in front and censuring it, they marched round the ambulatory in anticlockwise direction and entered the temple by the door on the west (C) leading to the Chamber of the Nile (7) and thence to the Inner Hypostyle (5). In the ante chamber of the door and in the Chamber of the Nile the water was blessed and dedicated, and it was then the duty of the two priests to replenish all libation vessels. In the meantime, the offering was introduced by the door to the east of the Inner Hypostyle (E). In the abbatoirs and kitchens to the east of the temple men had been busy long before dawn slaughtering an ox and preparing the varied offerings that were to be laid before the gods. At the appointed moment the offerings were carried through the door (H) in the enclosure wall and thence into the temple by the east door (E) of the Inner Hypostyle. The offerings were escorted and censured by priests, and it would appear that at the same time other priests who had duties to perform in the temple entered by the same door, having first purified themselves at the sacred lake. After the offerings had been purified and censured, they were taken into the

¹ For studies of earlier versions of the daily ritual see A. Moret, *Le rituel du culte divin journalier en Egypte*; A. M. Blackman, "The Sequence of the Episodes in the Egyptian Daily Temple Ritual", *Journal of the Manchester Egyptian and Oriental Society* (1918-19), pp. 27-53.

Hall of Offerings (9), and eventually some of the libations and offerings must have been brought into the *Hall of the Ennead* (11) where were kept the portable shrines of the co-templar divinities.

Meanwhile the officiating priest had entered with due solemnity by the main door of the Pronaos. In the thickness of each jamb of this door is an abbreviated Declaration of Innocence which he presumably recited while entering. He then turned to the left and was taken to the House of the Morning (3), and there he was ceremonially purified, dressed and invested, and given a light meal. When all had been completed, and while hymns were sung, he marched in solemn procession towards the Sanctuary, whose doors were still closed and sealed.

It is evident that there was not room on the walls of the temple for the full series of ceremonies recorded in the Ritual of Amun. At Edfu only nineteen scenes from the daily liturgy are inscribed in the Sanctuary, and these must be interpreted as a selection of the more important ceremonies and not necessarily as a complete but abbreviated version special to Edfu. It is this same lack of space that is the most probable explanation of the complete absence of any mention of the preliminary rites, such as the twisting and lighting of the torch, the taking of the censer and incense, and the placing of incense on the flame, all of which were essential preliminaries to the service. It was at this moment, or as the doors of the Sanctuary were opened, that the Morning Hymn was sung. This great hymn is inscribed on the façade of the Sanctuary¹ and in it Horus, the co-templar divinities, the members and insignia of Horus, and the individual parts of the temple are addressed and bidden to rouse themselves from slumber. It seems a very long hymn to have been sung every day, but there must have been a Morning Hymn, either this or an abbreviated version.

The priest then entered the Sanctuary and advanced towards the naos. The ensuing service consisted of seven phases.

¹ A. M. Blackman and H. W. Fairman, "A Group of Texts Inscribed on the Façade of the Sanctuary in the Temple of Horus at Edfu", *Miscellanea Gregoriana*, pp. 397-428.

First, the priest mounted the steps to the naos, broke the seals on the door, drew the bolts and opened the doors, thus revealing the statue of the god. Then followed the uncovering of the face of the god and the ceremony of seeing the god, when the priest recited: *I have seen the god, the Power sees me. The god rejoices at seeing me. I have gazed upon the statue of the Divine Winged Beetle, the sacred image of the Falcon of Gold.*¹ This was undoubtedly one of the most important moments in the whole service, the god had once more entered his statue and taken up residence in his house. The third phase consisted of the adoration of the god and was followed by the presentation of myrrh. The last-mentioned ceremony apparently symbolized the presentation of a meal (see below, p. 191), and takes the place of the Offering of Truth that occurs at this point in the Ritual of Amun. The three final phases were all connected with the toilet of the god. The statue was touched with unguent and the four coloured cloths prescribed by the ritual were presented. Then the statue was purified with water from the ritual green and red vases. Finally, the service concluded with a long series of censings and fumigations, the priest withdrew, and the shrine and the Sanctuary were once more closed. Here, again, Edfu diverges from the Ritual of Amun, in which the purification precedes the dressing of the statue, but in general the two liturgies are closely similar.

While these ceremonies were being performed in the Sanctuary, other priests visited the chapels that open off the corridor, and probably all other parts of the temple as well, and performed an abbreviated version of the rites that were being simultaneously celebrated in the Sanctuary itself. Thus the whole temple and its gods were awakened, washed, dressed, fed, and made ready for another day.

It was probably immediately after this service that the rites called the Reversion of the Divine Offerings were performed.² Naturally only a small proportion of the offerings brought into the temple was symbolically placed upon the

¹ E. i. 26, 4-6; cf. the close parallel at Denderah, *MD.* iii. 61b. For a much different translation see Alliot, *Culte*, i. 79.

² Cf. *JEA.* 35, 85.

altars of the gods. After the service had ended and the god was satisfied with his offerings, they reverted to the priests, were taken out of the temple through the eastern doors (E and H), and were then divided among the priests in due proportion according to rank.

Details of the midday service ¹ are exceedingly meagre. It was certainly shorter and much less important than the morning service. Alliot considers that it consisted essentially of the offering of libations and the replenishing of vessels throughout the temple, no offerings were brought in and the Sanctuary remained closed. While this may be so, it is necessary to point out that there are at least four texts that clearly mention the bringing of offerings, as distinct from libations, into the temple thrice daily, and that these offerings include various kinds of bread, flowers, geese, and grain.²

The evening service ³ took place just before sunset. It was in the main a repetition of the morning service, but on a less elaborate scale. The most important difference was that it seems to have been celebrated in the room called the Throne of Re (24) and not in the Sanctuary. It was here that the soul of Re was supposed to retire to rest at night and it was from here that he rose to the sky at dawn.

Such were the three main services that were duly celebrated every day throughout the year. Were they the only activities within the temple on ordinary days? This is a question to which no final answer can yet be given, but three curious facts ought to be mentioned. A text in the east door of the Pronaos speaks of *the spells for lustrating the great, sacred images of the majesty of Re in the twelve hours of the day*; ⁴ another in the Library states that *the Chief Lector-priest did his duty in it in the twelve hours of the day*; ⁵ lastly, a text on one of the jambs of the door of the room called Throne of Re tells us *the prophets pass along its path to the Palace of the Behdetite to uncover the face of Him-of-pleasant-life* (an epithet of Horus the Behdetite) *from eventide without cease through the twelve (?) hours of the*

¹ Alliot, *Culte*, i. 107-20.

² E. vi. 105, 2-3; vii. 83, 16-84, 2; 207, 7-10; 239, 2-4.

³ Alliot, *Culte*, i. 121-32.

⁴ E. iii. 356, 1.

⁵ E. iii. 339, 9-10.

*night, provisions being in their hands in order to be laid upon its altar . . . is satisfied with the offerings, and the gods and goddesses who are in his train, they eat with him.*¹ It is difficult to escape the conclusion that certain rites were celebrated in the temple each hour of the day and night, but of the nature of these ceremonies we know nothing.

In the temple are two calendars of festivals,² as distinct from the ordinary daily services, that were celebrated at Edfu during the year. Although the record is unfortunately incomplete in parts, the calendars themselves and scattered crumbs of information from other texts show that over forty³ special festivals were celebrated in the temple in the course of a single year, festivals that varied in length from one to fifteen days. Most of these festivals are little more than names and we know nothing about their nature and development. It is probable, moreover, that some festivals have been omitted from the list. During a great part of the fourth month of the year, the Fourth Month of Inundation, special festivals of Osiris were celebrated in all temples of Egypt. At Edfu three rooms were specially connected with the cult of Osiris (Rooms 17, 18, and 19 on the plan), and contain a portion of the text of the Osiris Mysteries, the Leg of Osiris was supposed to be kept in the temple, and there is even a boastful claim that Osiris was mummified at Edfu: ⁴ it is certain that there must have been festivals of Osiris, but the calendars almost completely ignore them, except for references to the Festival of Sokaris on the 26th of the month.⁵ If some of the rooms on the roof had survived, we might have been in a better position to speak of what happened at Edfu, but at Edfu alone there is not sufficient material to enable us

¹ *E. i.* 282, 12-15:

² *E. i.* 359, 15-18 = xii. Pl. 324; v. 397, 5-401, 5; 394, 10-395, 7 = xiii. Pls. 490, 491, 489. The most recent published translations are those of Alliot, *Culte*, i. 206-15. A third calendar at Edfu (*E. v.* 348, 4-353, 6; 354, 2-360, 2 = xiii. Pls. 485, 486) is, as Alliot has pointed out, in reality a calendar of the festivals of Hathor at Denderah (Alliot, *op. cit.* i. 251-62; translation, *op. cit.* i. 219-39).

³ The calendar of Tuthmosis III at Karnak mentions no less than fifty-four calendar festivals (*JEA.* 38, Pl. IX, frag. gg; pp. 20-1).

⁴ *E. v.* 164, 6-7; cf. 163, 17-164, 1.

⁵ *E. v.* 399, 1-6; 6, 7-8; vi. 9, 7-8. For scenes connected with this festival see *E. v.* 163, 16-165, 2; vi. 136, 11-142, 6; 281, 12-282, 13.

to draw a complete picture and an adequate account of the Osiris Mysteries will have to await the accurate and complete publication of the abundant materials from Denderah and Philae. Only four of the great annual festivals can be reconstructed in any detail or accuracy. These festivals are the New Year Festival, the Coronation of the Sacred Falcon, the Festival of Victory, and the Sacred Marriage, and it is to these that we must now turn our attention.

New Year's Day in Egypt coincided, at least when the calendar and the year were in step, with the traditional day of the rising of the Nile. The ceremonies on this day, the herald of the life-giving inundation, are therefore naturally primarily concerned with renewal, the renewal of life and fertility, for the gods, for Egypt, and her people, and above all for Pharaoh on whom the welfare of Egypt depended, and this renewal is symbolized by the union of the sun's rays with the statue of the god: the rooms called Food-Altar (13) and Pure Place (14), the stairways to and from the roof, and the Kiosk, the Place of the First Feast, on the roof are specially designed to facilitate this all-important union.

The first complete study of the New Year Festival is that of Alliot.¹ The following account of the ceremonies follows Alliot in its broad lines, but it is only fair to Alliot to point out that it differs from him in three respects. In the first place, it is not absolutely certain that at Edfu the Festival lasted eleven days. The ceremonies began on the thirtieth day of the Fourth Month of Summer (the last day of the old year), continued on the five epagomenal days, and according to Alliot ended on the fifth day of the First Month of Inundation. The difficulty here is that the calendar entries for the fourth and fifth days of that month contain no reference to the New Year Festival but are called respectively *The Festival of the Behdetite*, and *The Festival of Horus the Behdetite*.² Moreover, the calendar of Kom Ombo³ clearly states that the festival ended on the fourth day of the month. A final solution of this problem cannot yet be

¹ Alliot, *Culte*, i. 303-433.

² *E.* v. 397, 6.

³ De Morgan, *Ombos*, i. 314, no. 426.

offered, but I am reluctant to make as positive a declaration as Alliot regarding the duration of the festival.

Secondly, Alliot has attempted to prove that the Place of the First Feast was the name of the Kiosk on the roof and also of the room called Food-altar (13) and hence divides the ceremonies into two phases: (a) the days before New Year's Day when the ceremonies took place in and between the Mesen-room (16) and Food-altar and Pure Place (14), and (b) New Year's Day and the following days when the ceremonies extended to the roof and the kiosk. No text at either Edfu or Denderah applies the term Place of the First Feast to any part of the temple other than the Kiosk on the roof. Alliot's view is based on the fact that at Denderah the room equivalent to the Food-altar at Edfu is sometimes called the *Court of the Place of the First Feast*.¹ If this means anything, it surely means that the room cannot be the Place of the First Feast; otherwise, one might also call it the *Pure Place* since an infrequent name of the same room is *Court of the Pure Place*.² Since the Edfu calendar explicitly states that on the last day of the year and on the epagomenal days the god went to the Place of the First Feast, I assume, contrary to Alliot, that both before and after New Year's Day the ceremonies included a procession to the roof.

Lastly, Alliot denies that any of the toilet episodes took place on the roof. This is also impossible to sustain, not only because an epitome of the ceremonies at Denderah clearly refers to detailed toilet episodes after Hathor had entered the Kiosk,³ but both at Edfu and Denderah the toilet requirements are carried up to the roof and at Edfu there is a particularly clear statement that the toilet was performed there.⁴ In my view there were toilet episodes in both the Pure Place and the Kiosk.

The New Year ceremonies did not affect the Sanctuary and the statues that were kept in it, but started in the Mesen-room

¹ CD. iv. 185, 14; 186, 5.

² J. Dümichen, *Baugeschichte des Denderatempels*, xiv, 10.

³ CD. v. 117, 1-4 = MD. iii. 37 i: the most recent study is by Daumas in *Ann. Serv.* 51, 384-8. Cf. also MD. iv. 11 = J. Dümichen, *Altägyptischen Kalendarinschriften*, 92-3.

⁴ E. i. 555, 11-14.

(16). The king or his deputy, accompanied by the senior priests of the temple, entered the room, and performed the opening rites of the daily service: he mounted the steps of the naos, opened it, and revealed the face of the god. After a brief adoration, the shrines of Horus and Hathor were removed and placed on separate, rectangular, gilded supports, each surmounted by a canopy on four columns, and each having a metal ring at the four corners. Nine priests, usually called the *Companions*, were assigned to each shrine and its support and were responsible for carrying it in all the processions of the day; they supported the shrines on their hands and by means of cords passed round their necks and then through the rings attached to the support. These priests impersonated the four sons of Horus, the four sons of Mekhentienirty, and Mekhentienirty himself, who does not seem to have acted as porter, but brought up the rear of each group of porters rather like an overseer.¹ The procession then formed up, and in double file, with the Sacred Lance of Horus before Horus and the Lance of Khonsu before Hathor, made its way along the corridor that surrounded the Sanctuary and so eventually reached the Food-altar (13) and the Pure Place (14). In the meantime, particularly rich offerings, including burnt offerings, had been placed on all altars throughout the temple and above all in the Forecourt, the Court of Offering (1).² The shrines of Horus, Hathor, and all the co-templar divinities were now grouped in the Pure Place (14), facing south, offerings were made to them, the statues were unveiled, and then the toilet episodes of the daily ritual were repeated in very rich and elaborate form to the accompaniment of special hymns.

It was now time for the procession to reform and make its way to the roof. The route was from the Food-altar (13), into the Central Hall (11), thence to the Hall of Offerings (9)

¹ Presumably owing to lack of space the reliefs of the eastern stairway depict either two or four priests, cf. *E.* ix. Pl. XXXVIII *e* and *o* (two priests), Pl. XXVII *b* and *e* (four priests). That there were in reality nine is assured by the repeated mention of the sons of Horus and Mekhentienirty and Mekhentienirty himself, and by references to the nine "Companions" or "Porters" (*E.* i. 414, 9; 549, 15; 554, 8; 560, 1-2; 571, 7-8). At Denderah the nine are clearly depicted and named (*MD.* iv. 9).

² *E.* i. 553, 15-554, 1.

where it turned to the left and, passing through the door (F), made its way up the winding stairway on to the roof and eventually to the Kiosk. We possess a particularly detailed description of the procession. Since each file was essentially the same, I describe only that of Horus. The first section of the procession was composed of priests, probably fifteen, carrying the sacred standards: their function was to prepare the way, to open it, and to remove all evil and danger from the path of the god. Behind them came more priests, some of them masked, impersonating divinities who were carrying food, drink, clothing, and other offerings. Now came the immediate escort of the god composed of the senior priests, the High Priest in the rear, nearest to the shrine: a lector priest marched at the head, and the other priests carried clothing, semi-precious stones, incense and libations. Immediately behind these priests marched a man dressed in the royal costume and carrying the Sacred Lance of Horus, and behind him came the queen and the king, barefooted and looking over their shoulders at the shrine of the god immediately behind them: the queen rattled sistra as she walked, the king burned incense. Then came the portable shrine of Horus, carried by the nine Companions. After the god followed other priests, each carrying one of the co-templar divinities in his or her portable shrine, and finally each file was closed by a fan bearer.

The statues of the gods were introduced into the Kiosk and, all facing south, were grouped to either side and behind Horus. While further offerings were made, the ritual was once more performed. The statue was unveiled, the old clothing removed, the statue was anointed, dressed and a meal was offered. The supreme moment of the ceremony must undoubtedly have been the unveiling of the face of the god, and this presumably happened at midday. At that moment the rays descended on the statue, and that mystic union of the sun and the god that was the whole purpose of the ceremony was effected. After these ceremonies, the procession reformed, passed through the west door of the Kiosk and eventually regained the temple and the respective resting places of the gods by descending the western stairway.

Two further points which, as far as I know, have not previously been mentioned in discussion of this festival, should now be discussed. In the calendar of Kom Ombo¹ reference is made to an "opening of the mouth" at the First Feast. Although this ceremony is not mentioned in any of the texts of the New Year Festival at Edfu or Denderah, it is very significant, I think, that the Edfu calendar tells us that on the 19th day of the First Month of Summer (the ninth month of the year) there took place the following ceremonies: *Procession of this august god, Khonsu of Behdet, to the roof of the temple; uncovering the face; clothing in raiment; offering unguent; singing praises; performing the opening [of the mouth]. . . .*² The importance of this passage is that it undoubtedly refers to ceremonies on the roof similar to those of the New Year Festival, and it confirms the testimony of Kom Ombo that the opening of the mouth was part of the ceremonial. If I am correct in assuming an opening of the mouth on New Year's Day, we have a new and very important fact. The traditional time for the dedication of a temple was either on the eve of New Year's Day,³ or on New Year's Day.⁴ I suggest, therefore, that the ceremonies on the temple roof on New Year's Day included the annual rededication of the temple and its gods: the union with the sun not only brought renewal of fertility and welfare to Egypt, it renewed for another year the life and powers of Edfu, Horus and the gods who lived with him in the temple.

All the ceremonies just described, though they directly affected the well-being of the people, were hidden from the outside world, the doors of the temple were shut while they were being celebrated, and no member of the general public witnessed them. Hitherto it has been assumed that the day ended with the return of the procession to the secondary sanctuary. In a calendar at Denderah, however, we read: *Now after the ceremonies of the divine service have been completed, when the 8th hour of the day comes, performance of all the ceremonies of bringing out in procession this goddess, Hathor the great,*

¹ De Morgan, *Ombos*, ii. 52, no. 596.

² E. v. 400, 8-401, 2.

³ F. L. Griffith, *The Inscriptions of Siut and Dêr Rîfeh*, Pl. 7, 298.

⁴ Griffith, *op. cit.* Pls. 6, 277-8; 7, 297.

Lady of Denderah, Eye of Re, in her Uplifter-of-Beauty,¹ together with her Ennead, to the Great Court of the Sky.² Uniting with her father; seeing her beauty by the sun-folk. Entering her house in slow march. Resting in this her place.³ These words can surely only mean that in the afternoon, after the New Year ceremonies, Hathor and the co-templar divinities were brought out and displayed to certain privileged people, but not to the public in general, in the Outer Hypostyle Hall of the temple; the mention of the processional barque proves that this could not have been a procession to the roof, for the stairway was too narrow to admit the barque and its carriers. Although this is not mentioned at Edfu, the ceremonies at Edfu and Denderah are so similar that it would seem that there was a reasonable possibility that at Edfu also Horus was brought out and displayed, probably in the Forecourt, one of whose names is the *Great (court of) the Sky*.⁴

It is reasonable to enquire whether there was any difference between the ceremonies before and after New Year's Day, for it seems inherently improbable that precisely the same rites were performed throughout the festival, without any special difference on the important New Year Day. Unfortunately, the texts and reliefs give us no help on this point, and one is compelled to rely on speculation. I feel that it is probable that the processions and the ceremonies in the temple and on the roof on the six days before New Year Day were merely preliminary and conducted on a modest scale. The real union with the sun obviously was consummated on the first day of the year, which was further marked by being the day of the annual rededication of the temple. I feel also that New Year's Day and the following days were distinguished from those that preceded by special ceremonies connected with the cult

¹ The portable boat-shrine kept in the Sanctuary.

² *Wb.* ii. 214 (16) strangely identifies this with the roof of the temple of Denderah. The fact that it contained columns (*MD.* ii. 13c), and that the boat-shrine could be taken there makes this identification impossible. That it was the Pronaos of Denderah was correctly recognized many years ago by Dümichen, *Baugeschichte*, p. 4, and unnumbered plan of Denderah.

³ *MD.* i. 62 f. = Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, 365.

⁴ *E.* v. 6, 10; cf. vii. 18, 8-9.

of the reigning king and his ancestors, which, as Alliot rightly emphasizes,¹ played such a prominent part in the ceremonies of the New Year Festival.

The second great Festival we have to consider is the Coronation of the Sacred Falcon, which was celebrated on the first five days of the First Month of Winter (the fifth month of the year). Once again, Alliot is the first scholar to have made a study of the festival and to have suggested the correct order in which the reliefs are to be studied.² The details are relatively easy to reconstruct thanks to a magnificent set of eight great scenes, accompanied by very long texts, on the first two registers of the inner face of the north wall of the enclosure, supplemented by numerous but scattered texts in other parts of the temple.

The falcon-headed statue of Horus, crowned with the Double Crown, was taken from the naos in the Sanctuary (15) and placed on a light, portable litter, open at the sides but surmounted by a light canopy. The litter was carried by masked priests, those in front wearing falcon masks, and those behind jackal masks; they represented the ancestors, the kings of the archaic kingdoms of Hierakonpolis in Upper Egypt and of Buto in the Delta. The procession was probably very similar in organization to the procession of the New Year Festival. In front came the priests carrying the standards, then the chief members of the priesthood, the god in his litter, and finally priests bearing the statues of the gods in their shrines. A feature of the procession was that it proceeded in silence, *no man speaking to his fellow*.³

¹ Alliot, *Culte*, i. 358-60. Cf. the Decrees of Canopus and Memphis: hieroglyphic text, *Urk.* ii. 137, 10-138, 4; 195, 6-8; 211, 12-212, 13; translation of the Greek text, E. Bevan, *A History of Egypt under the Ptolemaic Dynasty*, 210.

² Alliot's detailed study will appear in his second volume. He has published a preliminary account, "La fête égyptienne du couronnement du roi au temple d'Edfou sous les rois Ptolémées", *CRAIBL* (1948), pp. 208-19, and a short summary in *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*, 137, 88-95. The main texts, in Alliot's order, are: *E.* vi. 93, 2-99, 16; 262, 11-269, 12; 100, 2-104, 7; 269, 14-274, 7; 143, 12-152, 12; 298, 2-304, 12; 152, 14-157, 2; 305, 2-309, 7. A hieroglyphic summary of the whole ceremony is given in *E.* vi. 102, 3-103, 6. I have also used my own photographs of the first four scenes, and the complete set of photographs of the Berlin Academy, nos. E. 18-28, 93-106. See also H. Junker, "Der Bericht Strabos über den heiligen Falken von Philae im Lichte der ägyptischen Quellen", *WZKM.* 26 (1912), 42-62. ³ *E.* vi. 102, 5.

The procession passed through the temple, through the great doors of the pylon, and having passed the gate in the south wall of the temenos, turned to the left and marched to the Temple of the Sacred Falcon. Here the litter turned and faced the shrines of the gods who, with their porters, were assembled before it. The moment for the selection of the new king had now arrived, and the method was obviously oracular. One by one the name of each divinity was called so that Horus might indicate the one on whom his choice had fallen. None of the gods thus called was chosen, presumably the litter of Horus either remained still, or made a movement of recoil as each name was called. Then the procession enters the court, either the Forecourt or the Hypostyle, of the Temple of the Sacred Falcon, and while the litter of Horus is stationed in the doorway, the falconers bring in a number of the sacred falcons who had been bred in the sacred grove, and eventually one of these was chosen, and recognized as the heir of the god and the new king.

The second part of the ceremony now began. The procession, now including the Sacred Falcon, reformed and retraced its way to the Forecourt (I) for the Ceremony of Recognition. Having entered the Forecourt, the gods and their attendants entered the door in the east wing of the pylon and emerged upon the roof of the main door, between the two wings of the pylon: this was the *Balcony of the Falcon*,¹ or *Window of Appearance*.² It is obvious that this was in order that Horus might display his heir, the newly chosen Sacred Falcon, to the people: there is no indication who these people were, but presumably there was an assembly of priests and other privileged people in the Forecourt and before the pylons. It was probably at this point that two litanies were sung: first, the Litany of the Happy Year, and the then Litany of Sakhmet, the purpose of which was to ensure the protection of the Sacred Falcon from all kinds of harm and danger.

The procession then descended from the balcony and entered the temple for the third part of the proceedings, the

¹ E. vi. 93, 11.

² E. vi. 102, 9.

Coronation. For the first part of the coronation service the falcon was placed under a light canopy on a rectangular block elaborately carved in imitation of the primitive palace façade, the *serekh*¹ and was then anointed, invested with a ceremonial collar, and presented with the Symbol of Eternity and the four posies of Horus the Behdetite, Re, Hathor, and Atum. The second part of the ceremony was concerned with the investiture and protection of the new ruler. The falcon and Horus were placed side by side on seats,² each being on the back of a figure of a lion. The god was presented with the royal insignia and with numerous amulets, his lips were touched with milk and long hymns were sung for the protection of the god and his house, the ground on which he stood, the bed on which he slept and the air he breathed, and the spells for the protection of the divine body were recited.

When all these ceremonies had been completed, it was time for the final phase, the Banquet. For this purpose the procession formed again and returned to the Temple of the Sacred Falcon. There an elaborate Grace before Meat was sung³ while the king presented choice meats to the falcon, the cut-up pieces of flesh symbolizing the destruction of the enemies of the god and the king.⁴ The actual banquet is represented by a scene entitled *Burning myrrh. Bringing the god to his meat*.⁵ As in the daily service (see above, p. 180), the offering of myrrh symbolized an actual meal, the accompanying formula telling us that *The scent of myrrh is for thy nose, it fills thy nostrils, thy heart receives the meat-portions on its scent*.⁶

The Banquet concluded the official ceremonies. While the Sacred Falcon remained in his temple, Horus was carried back to his shrine in the Sanctuary of the main temple, and the populace gave themselves up to merriment and feasting.

The striking parallelism between these rites and our modern coronation ceremony needs no elaboration. One further point,

¹ E. xiv. Pl. 553.

² The reliefs actually depict the Sacred Falcon in front of Horus, but it is perhaps better to imagine them seated side by side.

³ A. M. Blackman, "The King of Egypt's Grace Before Meat", *JEA*. 31, 57-73.

⁴ *JEA*. 31, 72.

⁵ E. vi. 305, 2.

⁶ E. vi. 305, 3-4.

however, requires brief comment. It must be stressed that throughout these ceremonies there is complete identity between the Sacred Falcon, Horus the Behdetite and the Pharaoh. The festival was very much more than just the selection and coronation of a Sacred Falcon, it was also the annual renewal of the coronation of the reigning king. The first day of the First Month of Winter, the first day of the festival, is named in the calendar as *the day of the New Year Feast of Horus the Behdetite*.¹ The significance of this is, as Gardiner demonstrated in his review of Frazer's *Adonis, Attis, Osiris*,² that this day follows immediately after the great Osirian festivals of the fourth month of the year. On the last day of that month there took place both the resurrection of Osiris, as "a dead king recalled in the tomb to a semblance of his former life", and his interment. On the following day, the first day of the fifth month, his son Horus assumed the kingship. Hence this is the date that was apparently considered fitting for the accession of any Pharaoh, and that was also the conventional date for the *Sed*-festival. It is these facts that explain the significance of the date and nature of the Coronation of the Sacred Falcon.

The third great annual festival which we have to describe was the Festival of Victory, celebrated on five successive days beginning with the twenty-first day of the Second Month of Winter (the sixth month of the year). Unlike the other festivals we are describing, no detailed account of the various ceremonies has come down to us. The long texts specially connected with the festival are of a special type and could not have included all the rites, and it is a matter for speculation what other ceremonies were performed.

The main texts concerned with the festival are preserved on the first and second registers of the inner surface of the western enclosure wall. They are clearly defined and separated from all other scenes on that wall by being given in reverse order.³ In the first register is the text of what may conveniently

¹ *E. v.* 399, 7.

² *JEA.* 2, 121-6, especially pp. 122-4.

³ See Chassinat's observations, *E. vi.* 55-6, 104.

be called a Sacred Drama.¹ In the second register is the text generally known as the Legend of the Winged Disk,² followed by a shorter text whose title refers to the presentation of a beverage composed of grapes and water.³

The exact nature of the texts in the first register is a matter of dispute. In our original study Professor Blackman and I presented it as a drama consisting of a Prologue, three acts and an Epilogue.⁴ This, however, has been disputed by Drioton,⁵ who denies that the texts are really dramatic, and claims that in reality they embody two versions of an ancient drama concerned with the victory of Horus, which, with some additional material, have been amalgamated to form a series of hymns for liturgical use. Alliot,⁶ on the other hand, disputes both these views, claiming that the text is no mystery or drama but that it embodies a series of ritual actions. These divergent opinions cannot be discussed here in detail. Since Alliot's final study has not yet appeared, detailed criticism of his views would be premature and unfair, but his case does not appear to be proved, it does not seem to consider all the evidence, and he can hardly be correct in including ceremonies from the Festival of Sokaris. Drioton's study is one of the most ingenious and brilliant that has appeared for many a day, but the picture it presents is, I believe, purely fictitious. That the text contains earlier material is obvious, but the philological grounds for the isolation of the two postulated earlier dramas (two words that occur nine times in some 350 lines of printed text) are not only quite inadequate for their purpose but demonstrably incorrect. Other grave objections could also be raised to Drioton's view. In the following account, therefore, I adhere to the view that the text in the first register is, in the

¹ E. vi. 60, 6-90; xiii. Pls. 494-514.

² E. vi. 108, 15-132, 5; xiii. Pls. 518-33.

³ E. vi. 132, 7-136, 9; xiii. Pls. 534, 535.

⁴ A. M. Blackman and H. W. Fairman, *The Myth of Horus at Edfu*, II: "The Triumph of Horus over his Enemies: A Sacred Drama", *JEA*. 28, 32-8; 29, 2-36; 30, 5-22.

⁵ E. Drioton, "Le texte dramatique d'Edfu", *Cahiers des Annales de Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte*, no. 11, Cairo, 1948.

⁶ *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*, 137, 95-103.

form that has survived on the wall of the temple, that of a sacred drama.

Since the Sacred Drama is found in the first register, it would seem certain that it must have been enacted earlier in the day than the scenes of the second register. What preceded it we do not know, but undoubtedly the statue of Horus must have been brought from the Sanctuary to the Sacred Lake, on the edge of which there must almost certainly have been a small kiosk. The action of the play took place partly beside the lake and partly on its waters, in the presence of priests and a large concourse of the faithful who acted as chorus. The chief participants were the king, a Lector, priests who impersonated the gods, and a chorus. There was little action or real acting, the important point being the ranting or declaiming of set speeches with the minimum of formal, stilted gestures; there is little "drama" in our sense of the word, and no characterization. To us it appears as rather dull stuff, enlivened by a few passages of genuine literary merit, but then it was not written for us or for people with our ideas. But to the Egyptian beholders the words and setting, and above all the underlying religious and political ideas, made it real, dramatic, exciting, and intensely significant.

The Prologue sets the tone of the drama with its praise of the king and its statement: *Here begins the bringing to pass of the triumph of Horus over his enemies.*¹ Act One, divided into five scenes, is the Ritual of the Sacred Harpoon: ten harpoons, accompanied by appropriate words and gestures, are in turn implanted in a figure of a hippopotamus. The two scenes of Act Two are concerned with rejoicing over the victory: in the first scene Horus, seated in his galley, and the young harpooners are invoked; in the second scene the people rejoice over Horus crowned and invested with the insignia of kingship. Act Three, the celebration of the victory, consists of two versions of the dismemberment of Seth, separated by an Interlude. Finally, the Epilogue declares that Horus is triumphant and that the enemies of the gods and the king are overthrown.

¹ E. vi. 61, 2.

It is significant that the play begins and ends with the king. The dramatic enactment of the victory of Horus, the formal statement of the triumph of Horus and the king, made certain that the enemies of Pharaoh were overthrown and destroyed and thus ensured that for another year Pharaoh, his people, and the whole land of Egypt had victory and peace.

The main text of the second register, the Legend of the Winged Disk,¹ is no ordinary liturgical or ritual text, still less is it dramatic. It takes the form of a long account of the fighting between Horus and Seth, interspersed with numerous and tedious puns on the various actions and on the places mentioned. Its climax is the statement that the Winged Disk is placed in every temple throughout Egypt, and the text goes on to explain that the Winged Disk is Horus the Behdetite, who is pre-eminent in Upper and Lower Egypt, who overthrows the enemy, and in whose name the living and dead are inscribed. The text ends with a piece of pure magic : a winged beetle in writing is to be placed on the breast of the king on the day of trouble, the appropriate spell is to be recited, and as a result the king will not be afraid and his enemies will be destroyed immediately. It is clear that the text as a whole is designed to assert and prove the claim of Horus the Behdetite to the overlordship of Egypt, and to emphasize that he can and does protect the king. It is significant that the whole legend takes the form of a historical document and commences with a mythological date : *In the year 363 of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt Re-Harakhte*. This looks remarkably like one of those appeals to historical precedent, real or fictitious, of which the Egyptians were so fond, and I would suggest that this section of the festival was conceived as a supplement to the Sacred Drama, that it consisted of the recitation of the history of the victories of Horus, which were thus presented in the guise of a historical document to prove his claim to supremacy.

The final section of the text is ostensibly connected with an offering of drink, and of oryx, ibex, and long-horned and short-horned cattle which, as we know, symbolize the enemies

¹ H. W. Fairman, "The Myth of Horus at Edfu, I : The Legend of the Winged Disk", *JEA*. 21, 26-36.

of the king and the gods. It directly continues the concluding passages of the Legend of the Winged Disk by elaborating the spell which is to be recited over the winged beetle placed round the neck of the king, whose enemies are immediately brought to nought, in conformity with one of the fundamental principles of Egyptian magic, by the bare assertion that they are afraid and powerless. This is followed by the statement that the defeated enemies are despatched to the four points of the compass, there to form the different races of mankind, apart, of course, from the Egyptians, and by a further recital, with the inevitable puns, of further incidents in the wars of Horus. The whole text appears to be an appendix to the Legend of the Winged Disk, and its basic purpose seems to be that of a final, magical, and protective rite at the end of the ceremony.

The Sacred Marriage,¹ the last of the great festivals that we have to discuss, is in many ways the most interesting. It was essentially a popular festival, to a far greater extent than any of those already described; a very large proportion of the ceremonies took place outside the temple area and, in varying degree, affected and interested the whole of Upper Egypt from Denderah to Elephantine.

The festival was celebrated at Edfu from the day of the New Moon in the Third Month of Summer (the eleventh month of the year) and ended on the day of the Full Moon, a total of fifteen days. The preliminaries actually commenced, however, fourteen days earlier² at Denderah when Hathor boarded her great river-going processional barge and was towed up-stream towards Edfu in the midst of a great fleet of boats bearing priests and the faithful. The procession stopped on the way at Thebes, where Hathor visited Mut of Asheru, Komir, between Esneh and Hierakonpolis, and Hierakonpolis, opposite the modern El Kab. It is possible, though not stated, that there may have been stops at other places, and it is easy to imagine that, as the glittering procession made its slow progress, excited crowds danced and rejoiced on the river banks. The period of the festival was a time of peace and gladness: *The*

¹ *E.* v. 29, 9-33, 16; 124, 8-129, 11; 130, 17-136, 4; 34, 2-35, 3.

² *E.* vii. 26, 9-12.

*inhabitants of Edfu are in jubilation, shouting for joy to the height of heaven. . . . The great water-flood, it has stilled its raging, the Nile rejoices [pacifying ?] them that are in the water, while the crocodiles are all quieted and none are able to dart up.*¹

The procession arrived at the quay to the north of Edfu at the eighth hour of the day on the day of the New Moon and was there met by Horus of Behdet and his following and a deputation from Elephantine. Hathor disembarked and proceeded with Horus to an adjacent temple and there various ceremonies were performed, the most important being the Opening of the Mouth, an offering of the first fruits of the field, the presentation of the field, the driving of the calves, the offering of Truth and numerous food-offerings. The gods then boarded their ships, and accompanied by the Mayors of Komir, Hierakonpolis and Elephantine and a host of pilgrims, set sail for Edfu, presumably by a canal joining the river at Etbo to a place in the immediate neighbourhood of the temple. On the way the procession stopped at a place called the Mound of Geb where further ceremonies took place, including another Opening of the Mouth, the celebration of the ritual and rich offerings and burnt offerings, and then pursued its way. Eventually the boats arrived at Edfu, and Horus and his bride entered the enclosure by the eastern door in the brick enclosure wall and so across the enclosure and into the Forecourt (I) by the door in its south-eastern corner (B). This concluded the ceremonies of the day, this was the marriage proper, and Horus and Hathor spent their marriage night in the Sanctuary.

The next morning, the second day of the lunar month, there was a subtle change: the emphasis is no longer on the marriage, which is not mentioned, but instead we read of a fourteen-day Festival of Behdet which commenced on this day. The procession formed up, at its head the five sacred lances, all the visiting deputations, priests and doubtless most of the townsfolk followed, and all made their way from the temple, across the desert to the Burial-ground of Behdet, some distance to the west or south-west. There they stopped at

¹ E. v. 30, 3-6.

the Upper Temple, and in addition to offerings of *bread, beer, bulls, birds, and every good thing*, many burnt sacrifices, and the singing of hymns, there were performed the making oblation to the Divine Souls, and the ceremony of treading the grave. After this, everybody gave themselves up to merrymaking for a time. The procession then departed from the Upper Temple and proceeded to the Hall of the House of Life, a building whose position is not known but which was probably a dependency of the main temple. Here a series of exceedingly complicated rites was performed, the chief items being the slaughter of a red goat and a red ox,¹ profuse offerings of every description, the despatching of four geese to the compass points, each bearing to the gods of the appropriate quarter the message: *The King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Horus the Behdetite, great god, lord of the sky, has possessed himself of the White Crown and has assumed the Red Crown*, and then a priest called "His-beloved-son" took a bow and shot to south, north, west, and east. The nature of the subsequent rites changed and became more prophylactic. A hippopotamus of red wax inscribed with the names of enemies was brought, the enemies of the king were entered on a clean sheet of papyrus, a hippopotamus of sand was made and *every harmful thing was done to them*,² and afterwards there were performed the ceremonies of trampling on the fishes, the treading down and trampling on the foe by the king, and the smiting with the sword. These were then followed by an interpretation, which clearly explains that all these were the symbols of the king's enemies who were thus destroyed. By this time it was evening; after drinking in the divine presence, the gods retired, and the people gave themselves up to a night of merriment around the temple.

The ceremonies of the second to fourth day of the Festival of Behdet were approximately similar to those of the first day, except that on each the main ceremonies at the Upper Temple took place at a different "mound". For the fifth to thirteenth day of the festival the details are meagre in the extreme, but as far as can be gathered the celebrations were on a vastly reduced

¹ Red is the evil, unlucky colour, the colour of Seth.

² E. v. 134, 2.

scale, there does not appear to have been any procession to the necropolis, and the ceremonies all appear to have been performed within the temple. Finally, on the day of the Full Moon, the fourteenth day of the Festival of Behdet, it was time for Hathor to return to Denderah. In the same state as at her arrival she was escorted to the temple or chapel at Etbo and there elaborate farewell ceremonies took place. The Opening of the Mouth was performed, offerings were made, the crew of the ship of Horus marched past, the ceremony of treading the grave was performed yet again, the adoration of the sacred harpoon was recited, and finally Hathor boarded her barge and slowly sailed away northward to Denderah.

The above description is the merest outline of the extremely complicated rites which the texts give us in no little detail. There emerge, however, a number of points of the greatest interest and significance. It is clear that the festival was not a unity. The obvious division is into two main parts: the Sacred Marriage on the first day, or more precisely the afternoon and evening of the first day, and the subsequent Festival of Behdet, itself divided into two sections of four and ten days.

But there is more to it than this. The striking feature of the ceremonies is the emphasis throughout on ceremonies, all of which, as is now well known, were essentially rites of the harvest festival: the offering of the first fruits, the offering of the field, the driving of the calves,¹ the treading of the grave, and the despatching of the geese to the compass points are all well-known features of the harvest festival. Even the trampling of the enemy under-foot is clearly to be equated with the scattering of grain and trampling it under-foot at the harvest festival. But here a curious point emerges. We are accustomed to regard the harvest festival as a ceremony immediately preceding the reaping of the crops and its traditional date is in the First Month of Summer.² Even when the year and calendar were in order, the third month of summer would have covered

¹ A. M. Blackman and H. W. Fairman, "The Significance of the Ceremony 'Hwt Bhsu' in the Temple of Horus at Edfu", *JEA*. 35, 98-112; 36, 63-81.

² H. Gauthier, *Les fêtes du dieu Min*; see also H. Frankfort, *Kingship and the Gods*, pp. 188-90.

our May to June, long after harvest which in Upper Egypt is in April, but at the time that our texts of the festival were engraved, the Third Month of Summer would have been even later in the year, probably in July to August, months after harvesting and threshing, when the Nile was already rising. In my mind there can be no possible doubt that the Sacred Marriage at Edfu was essentially a harvest festival, in reality that of the First Month of Summer, but a harvest festival performed out of due season.

But there is even more. It is well known that these Egyptian harvest festivals were speedily Osirianized and that they became funerary festivals. This also is markedly obvious at Edfu. The visit to the Upper Temple was to a sacred necropolis, where were buried the Divine Souls to whom offerings were made during the festival. These Divine Souls were presumably the ancestral gods of Edfu. A big series of texts ¹ deals almost exclusively with these gods and their connection with this particular festival; they tell us that they were nine in number, and name them, and they tell us that the annual visit of Horus and Hathor brought these dead gods life and light.

It is thus evident that the Sacred Marriage is a very complex festival. The marriage itself is an intimate part of the harvest, for it ensured fertility and an abundant crop. At Edfu it is combined unmistakably with harvest rites and with the cult of the ancestors. It is the perfect Egyptian example of the anthropologist's ideal pattern of sacred marriage, linked with harvest rites and the cult of the ancestors.

We have now hastily surveyed a year's activity in the temple of Edfu. It is natural to ask ourselves what was the attitude of the priesthood to these manifold activities. In what spirit did they approach their duties? Egyptian temple inscriptions are never personal, they never inform us in set terms of the feelings and reactions of the priests, but some of the doors of the temple bear remarkable addresses to the priests entering the temple that throw light on the question. All these have

¹ E. i. 173, 3-174, 7; 382, 4-15; ii. 51, 3-52, 8; iv. 102, 17-103, 13; 239, 13-241, 14; v. 61, 17-63, 16; 160, 12-162, 6; vii. 118, 4-119, 8; 279, 16-281, 2; iii. 323, 5-12.

been collected and translated by Alliot,¹ and two extracts will have to suffice. On one door, for instance, we read: *Everyone who enters by this door, beware of entering in impurity, for God loves purity more than millions of possessions, more than hundreds of thousands of fine gold. His food is Truth, he is satisfied with it. His heart is pleased with great purity.*² Or again: *Turn your faces to this temple in which His Majesty has placed you. He sails in the heavens while seeing what is done therein, and he is pleased therewith according to its exactitude. Do not come in in sin, do not enter in impurity, do not utter falsehood in his house, do not covet things, do not slander, do not accept bribes, do not be partial as between a poor man and a great, do not add to the weight and measure, but (rather) reduce them; do not tamper with the corn-measure; do not harm the requirements of the Eye-of-Re (i.e. the divine offerings); do not reveal what you have seen in the mysteries of the temples; do not stretch forth the arm to the things of his house, do not venture to seize his property. Beware, moreover, of saying "Fool!" in the heart, for one lives on the bounty of the gods, and "bounty" one calls what comes forth from the altar after the reversion of the divine offerings upon them. Behold, whether he sails in the heavens, or whether he traverses the Netherworld, his eyes are firmly fixed upon his possessions in their (proper) places.*³ The cynic may comment that if such exhortations were necessary, the priests must have fallen very far short of the ideal. It can be admitted that there must have been bad priests, but far more important than such considerations is the ideal. These texts set before the priests a goal and a high ideal. We shall not go far wrong if we assume that there were many priests who in sincerity and humility attempted to follow this path.

For the people in general there is little to be said. It is clear that for the majority of the people there was no direct contact with either daily service or with many festivals, and no participation in any intimate or sacred rites. On certain occasions, such as the Coronation of the Sacred Falcon and the

¹ Alliot, *Culte*, i. 181-95. Similar texts exist at Denderah and Kom Ombo, *MD*. i. 15 c; 16 a; De Morgan, *Ombos*, ii. 245, no. 878.

² *E*. vi. 349, 4-6.

³ *E*. iii. 360, 361, 5.

Festival of Victory, it is reasonable to assume that some of the provincial notables and probably also the members of the lay fraternities of the temple were admitted to the enclosure and perhaps even to the Forecourt, but no one other than a priest ever penetrated more deeply into the temple. The ordinary man in the street had to content himself with the knowledge that these secret rites were for his ultimate benefit. He could, above all, join in the more public festivals and processions, and he could always avail himself of the free meals and rejoicings that always accompanied such festivals. That he did so with zest and gusto is recorded for us at more than one point on the temple walls. The following extract from a description of popular rejoicing at a festival is typical: *He stands opposite his city, he sees his temple enriched with all its provisions, his city in festivity, its heart rejoicing, all its lanes in gladness. . . . Its provisions are more numerous than the sand of the shore: all kinds of bread are in it as numerous as grains of sand, long-horned and short-horned oxen are more numerous than grasshoppers: A bird pool for birds is in it. Gazelle and oryx and ibex and their like, the smoke of them, it reaches heaven; the Green Horus-eye (wine) runs in its quarters like the inundation flowing forth from the Two Caverns; myrrh is on the brazier together with incense, it is smelled a mile away. It (the city) is bestrewn with faience, gleaming with natron, garlanded with flowers and fresh herbs. The prophets and the fathers-of-the-god are clad in fine linen, the king's suite are arrayed in their regalia, its youths are drunk, its citizens are glad, its young maidens are beautiful to see, rejoicing is round about it, festivity is in all its quarters, there is no sleep in it until dawn.*¹

We must not, however, take away the impression that the common man's only contact with his god and his temple was one of orgy and self-indulgence. Though not admitted to the temple, to many the temple, its services and its god were real, and were needed. A series of texts on the south gate of the temenos shows us that this belief in the god did exist, and that provision was made for the needs of the people to pray and

¹ E. iv. 3, 1-8.

make their offerings. There we read that *it is the standing-place of those who have and those who have not in order to pray for life from the Lord of Life*; ¹ or *The place for hearing the petitions of all petitioners in order to judge Truth from Falsehood. It is the great place for championing the poor in order to rescue them from the strong*; ² or again *The place outside which offerings are made at all times consisting of all the produce of the servants*.³ The texts just quoted demonstrate that immediately outside the south gate of the temenos the ordinary people were able at all times to come to pray, to offer petitions, to appeal for justice, and to lay their own humble offerings before the god. The temple was a living entity, the varied activities that took place within it were for the common good, and the man in the street was not blind to his god but in his humble way saw in him a help and a support.

¹ E. viii. 162, 16-17.

² E. viii. 163, 1-2.

³ E. viii. 164, 11.

SOME LETTERS OF SIR FRANCIS DASHWOOD,
BARON LE DESPENCER, AS JOINT POST-
MASTER GENERAL, 1766-81

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SIR FRANCIS DASHWOOD (1708-81) was the grandson of Francis Dashwood (d. 1683) of Somerset, a Turkey merchant and alderman of London, and only son of Sir Francis Dashwood (d. 1724), first baronet, of West Wycombe, Buckinghamshire, by his second wife Mary Fane, eldest daughter of Vere, fourth Earl of Westmorland and sister of the fifth, sixth and seventh Earls. In April 1763 he was granted the barony of Le Despencer, which had fallen into abeyance on the death of the seventh Earl of Westmorland, fourteenth Baron Le Despencer, in August 1762. Dashwood was Member of Parliament for Romney from 1741 to 1761, and for Weymouth and Melcombe Regis from 1761 to 1763. In the House of Commons he played the part of an independent country gentleman, pressing in 1744 for double taxation of placemen and pensioners,¹ in 1745 for the freeing of the House of Commons from "undue influence",² and consistently opposing the "German war".³ He left independency in the 1760s, first to hold political office as Chancellor of the Exchequer in Bute's administration, May 1762 to April 1763, and again, in December 1766, in Pitt's administration, to hold the office of Joint Postmaster General, which he retained until his death in December 1781.

Politically, Despencer's appointment as Joint Postmaster General was regarded by Newcastle as proof that Chatham was openly seeking alliance with Bute,⁴ and was quoted by North

¹ *Parl. Hist.*, vol. xiii, p. 1033. 7 December 1744. Henry Archer's motion for the "double taxing of Places and Pensions . . . in case of the landed interest of this kingdom".

² *Ibid.* vol. xiii, p. 1342. 17 October 1745.

³ Pitt's praise of his consistency in this respect is noted in Horace Walpole, *Memoirs of the Reign of George III* (ed. Barker), vol. ii, p. 188.

⁴ Albemarle, *Memoirs of the Marquis of Rockingham*, vol. ii, p. 28.

as part of Chatham's attempt to strengthen the government in the House of Lords.¹ But his long tenure of office² is more important administratively than politically, and he treated it rather as a placeman than as a politician. Indeed, the office of Postmaster General in the eighteenth century, though often held by rising politicians, was more of an administrative than a political post. The Post Office was a new department, more like the new revenue departments than the old political departments, but differing from both. It differed from the old political departments because it was established by statute and had no past association with the household, and because its head was debarred from sitting in the House of Commons, but it differed from and ranked higher than the other revenue departments, whose heads were also excluded from the Commons, because it performed a great public service.

The following selection of letters, taken, with three exceptions, from the Dashwood papers now deposited in the Bodleian Library,³ have been chosen primarily for their administrative interest. They are the earliest surviving letters of a Postmaster General, and for the period they cover the surviving "official" Post Office material consists only of four Establishment Books—one for 1768, two for 1769 and one for 1770—and the first three volumes of Treasury Letter Books, 1760-71, 1771-8 and 1778-83.⁴

Despencer's tenure of office began shortly after two changes which made the Post Office more fully a public department. In 1760 the Post Office revenues, with the rest of the hereditary

¹ Bodleian Library, North MSS. d. 24, fol. 20. Lord North to the Earl of Guilford, 6 December 1766.

² Of the twenty-eight Joint Postmasters General of George III's reign, eighteen held office for less than four years. Despencer had three colleagues during his period of office: the Earl of Hillsborough until December 1768; the Earl of Sandwich until December 1770; H. F. Thynne, later Lord Carteret.

³ See my note "Some Post Office Papers, 1766-81, in the Dashwood Collection" in the *Bodleian Library Record*, vol. iv, no. 4, p. 182. All the letters now published from the Dashwood Collection are in MSS. DD. Dashwood (Bucks) c. 13. I have to thank Sir John Dashwood for kindly permitting their publication.

⁴ I am grateful to Mr. E. C. Baker, Post Office Archivist, for much help given to me on my visits to St. Martins le Grand.

revenue, were taken over from the Crown and merged in the general revenue. In September 1764 the Bye and Cross Roads Letter Post, which had been farmed by Ralph Allen since 1720, was taken under the direct control and administration of the Postmaster General. This meant that, for the first time, the Post Office directly administered the four services it provided: the Inland Post, the Foreign Letter Post, the Penny Post and the Bye and Cross Roads Letter Post. Despencer's correspondence throws light both on the administration of these services and on the problems which the Post Office faced in the period before the reforms of the end of the eighteenth century.

Several letters illustrate the problems which the connection of eighteenth-century administration with politics set to a department with numerous local employees. There were more than four hundred post towns. The position of local deputy postmaster was generally regarded by members of parliament as part of the local patronage to which their membership entitled them, and their view was often accepted, though reluctantly, by the Post Office. For example, William Jolliffe, member for Petersfield, was even able to insist that the Petersfield postmastership went with the tenancy of an inn owned by Jolliffe (Todd to Despencer, 29 March 1769, 26 September 1770). There are signs that, at a higher level of appointment, the claims of political interest were not always admitted—at any rate North did not find it easy to persuade the Joint Postmasters that a contract for the provision of packet boats should be renewed because the member of parliament who held it was a useful supporter of government (Thynne to Despencer, 28 November 1773, North to Despencer, 29 January 1774, Despencer to North, 30 January 1774) and Despencer was able to insist that the successor to Franklin as Deputy Postmaster-General of America should be resident (Despencer to Todd, 4 February 1774, Despencer to Thynne, 6 February 1774).

The problems connected with the privilege of franking (illustrated especially in the correspondence of November and December 1769 between Anthony Todd and Mathew Brickdale, member of parliament for Bristol) are also a commentary on the difficulties encountered by an administrative system which

is not allowed to be free from politics. The grant to members of both Houses of Parliament and to certain officials of the privilege of sending letters and packets, and, later, newspapers, free from postage duty could not fail to give rise to abuses and the attempt to discover and provide against them could hardly fail to lead to irritation on the part of the privileged groups. It is certain that none of the series of attempts to reduce the volume of fraud caused by the privilege had any considerable success, and there is evidence (e.g. in the Memorial of 17 November 1772) that the Post Office would have preferred to persuade members of parliament to relinquish their privilege, believing that there was no effective way of preventing its abuse. But here political considerations were too strong, and franking and the consequent legitimate and illegitimate loss to the revenue continued until 1839.

The relations of the Post Office with the Treasury were bound to be tainted, as were the relations of the Customs and Excise Departments with the Treasury, by the Treasury's political outlook on patronage. But the Dashwood letters provide one outstanding example (North to Despencer, 25 January 1775) of an attempt by the Post Office to obtain a comprehensive reform of the administration of the postal service which was thwarted not because of the Treasury's political preoccupations but, apparently, because of a mixture of dilatoriness and inability to give serious attention to anything but the American troubles. In November 1772, in response to a routine annual enquiry from the Treasury as to whether the Post Office wished to make any proposals for the better management of the Post Office revenue and the greater safety of correspondence, the Post Office submitted a Memorial stating and suggesting solutions to several difficult and long-standing administrative problems: the delivery of country letters to the persons to whom they were addressed instead of to the nearest post office, the exemption of mails and expresses from the payment of tolls, the further regulation of the privilege of franking, the limitation of orders by members of parliament for newspapers, compensation to the Clerks of the Roads for the reduction in their income caused by the extension to members of parliament of the right

to frank newspapers, the extension of franking to senior officials of the Post Office, the application of the postal laws to Ireland and to America, the simplification of the method of charging letters, and proposals for new postage rates and for a consolidated Postage Act. These proposals, like those sent to the Treasury on 30 January 1765,¹ which formed the basis of the Post Office Act of 1765,² were intended as "heads of clauses" of a bill to be presented to parliament, but neither the Memorial nor reminders from the Post Office during the remaining nine years of Despencer's tenure of office moved the Treasury to present a bill.

The proposals sent to the Treasury in November 1772 show that the Post Office was aware of weaknesses in the administration of the postal service and that it was anxious to remove them. Here the Post Office was hampered by its position as a statutory and dependent department without a political head in the House of Commons. But there were spheres in which the Post Office was successful in its efforts to improve administration, either because it managed to obtain Treasury approval or because recourse to the Treasury and to Parliament was unnecessary. Despencer's correspondence provides examples of such improvements: among them are the extension of the postal communications with Ireland (Hillsborough to Despencer, 10 October and 18 December 1767), the introduction of optional prepayment of postage on letters sent outside Great Britain (Todd to Despencer, 31 March 1769), the establishment of a Penny Post Office in Dublin (Walcot to Despencer, 1 May 1773), reforms in the system of collecting letters from Receiving Houses in London (Sandwich to Despencer, 28 September 1769), experiments with mail carts in order to provide speedier and safer carriage of letters (Todd to Despencer, 29 September 1770, etc.). The experiments with mail carts are especially interesting because the introduction of the first mail coach in 1784 has generally been regarded as a victory of enlightenment over a reactionary Post Office which tried hard to retain the "system of postboy on horseback" which it had kept undisturbed since the earliest

¹ General Post Office, Treasury Letter Book (1760-71), pp. 146-59.

² 5 Geo. 3, c. 50.

days of letter carriage. Clearly this was not so. Unfortunately no internal Post Office papers of this period (except Establishment Books) have survived, so that the letters now printed are the only record of the experiments, apart from an undated estimate, also in the Dashwood papers, of the "cost of a post cart", which suggests that the mail carts of the 1770s were not unlike the carts still used for the delivery of mail in the country districts of Ireland in the early twentieth century.

Lord Hyde¹ to Lord Le Despencer.

The Grove

17th December 1766

My dear Lord,

I was early taught by the late L^d Granville to wish my Friends in when I was out of Employment. Our long Acquaintance, never interrupted by private Discord, authorizes my Congratulations on Y^r accepting the Post Office.² They are cordial & thoroughly consistent with the Title I claim to make them. I will allow my Joy is tinged with Interest. When I was in that Office I made Christopher,³ who you know plays

¹ Thomas Villiers (1709-86), Baron Hyde of Hindon, 1756, 1st Earl of Clarendon of the second reversion, 1776. He was Joint Postmaster General from September 1763 to July 1765 with Robert Hampden, 4th Baron Trevor (1706-83) and again with Lord Carteret from September to December 1786. From 1742 to 1744, when Granville (1690-1763) was Secretary of State, Villiers was Minister Plenipotentiary in Vienna.

² The *Dictionary of National Biography*, perhaps following an error in Despencer's obituary notice in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1781, gives the date as December 1770.

³ Christopher Saverland, one of the four Inspectors of Carriers in the Inland Department of the Post Office. He appears in the Post Office Establishment Book for 1768 and still held his post in 1788, when he is described in the *10th Report of the Commissioners appointed to enquire into the Fees, Gratuities, Perquisites and Emoluments . . . received . . . in Public Offices*, 1788, as one of the four Inspectors of Carriers, Coachmen and Watermen. The word "burnaby" appears to be an example of Post Office terminology. The Inspectors received a salary of £52 a year, with no extras, and their duty was to supervise the Post Office employees engaged in the collection and delivery of letters for the Inland Department. The Commissioners on Fees considered that the office was unnecessary and recommended its abolition (*10th Report*, 1788, p. 779). Another Christopher Saverland was appointed a junior clerk in the Secretary's office in

on the Fiddle, & has a thousand useful Qualifications, a Burnaby; that is an Inspector of Carriers etc. There are 4, none of much Utility. He was, thro' L^d Trevor's joint Indulgence, never to attend; our immediate Successors¹ had the same Goodness for Him and for me. It is the only sinecure I ever obtained after taking many years trouble myself: was He to be called upon He must resign, which I acknowledge in most cases to be a very foolish measure: but it brings in only abt^t 50[£] a year & He is so valuable to me that had He other Avocations my whole Plan² of rural Business & Happiness must be altered. I trust your Tenderness for us Both will spare Him. We shall Both be happy in paying our utmost duty at the Grove. None will officiate with more Zeal, than We shall, attend Here ever so closely: the more the happier I shall be: the brilliancy of the present Time don't obliterate the remembrance of the past. The Cordiality with which We lived you will, my dear Lord, ever find in y^r very affectionate & faithful humble Serv^t. Hyde.

British Museum, Egerton MS. 2136, fol. 96.

Lord Hillsborough³ to Lord Le Despencer.

Hanover Square

22 July 1767

My Dear Lord,

Enclosed I have the honour to send your Lordship a Draught of the Representation to the Treasury for the appointment of the New Clerk—& I request of your Lordship to enclose it

1770 and a Riding Surveyor (with the duty of instructing and supervising Deputy Postmasters) in 1786 (Post Office Establishment Book, 1770; *10th Report on Fees*, 1788, p. 779).

¹ Thomas Robinson (1695-1770), 1st Baron Grantham, and William Ponsonby (1704-93), 2nd Earl of Bessborough, Joint Postmasters General from July 1765 to December 1766.

² The Grove, Hyde's residence near Watford, was rebuilt in the 1760s (J. E. Cussans, *History of Hertfordshire*, vol. iii, p. 170).

³ Wills Hill (1718-93), 2nd Viscount Hillsborough, 1st Marquis of Downshire, Joint Postmaster General with Despencer from December 1766 to January 1768.

when signed to Mr Bradshaw¹ at the Treasury. Lord Warwick will send the Christian Name of the Person for whom I am engaged, to Potts.²

I have a Letter from Mr Stanley³ recommending a Person for Post Master at Southampton, the present Deputy intending to resign; I acquainted him in return, as I think I had the honour to inform you, of our Rule, & he has wrote me another Letter assuring me upon his honour that there is no pecuniary Agreement between the Two, & adding that it will be of real importance in his Election that the new Person should be nominated; I have wrote to him, that I would lay the matter before your Lordship & that if the present Deputy resigned, I did not doubt but your Lordship would agree with me in nominating the Person Mr Stanley should recommend; and I presume a Letter will come from him to the Office directed to us Both.

I set out tomorrow morning; but as this is a day at St James's full of expectation, if I learn any news I will write a Postscript in the Evening; in the meantime My Dear Lord accept my sincerest wishes for yr Health, and a happy Issue to the afflicting calamity⁴ that oppresses you at present; and do me the justice to believe me with respectfull & affectionate attachment

Your Lordship's
Most Faithfull and
Most Obedient Servant
Hillsborough.

¹ Thomas Bradshaw (d. 1774), after serving in the War Office, was a Principal Clerk in the Treasury 1761, Secretary to the Treasury 1766-70 and a Lord Commissioner of the Treasury 1772. He was M.P. for Harwich 1767-8 and for Saltash 1768-74.

² Samuel Potts, an officer in the Post Office since 1747, Comptroller of the Inland Office since 1760.

³ Hans Stanley (c. 1720-80), M.P. for St. Alban's 1742-7 and for Southampton 1754-80. He was a Lord Commissioner of the Admiralty 1757, Governor of the Isle of Wight 1757, Cofferer of the Household 1766.

⁴ The illness of Lady Le Despencer, who died in January 1769. She was the daughter of Thomas Gould of Iver, Bucks, and married Dashwood in 1745, three years after the death of her former husband Sir Richard Ellis, of Wyham, Lincs.

British Museum, Egerton MS. 2136, fol. 105.

Lord Hillsborough to Lord Le Despencer.

Hillsborough

Oct 10 1767

My Dear Lord,

I have received the honour of your Lordship's Letter of the second Instant— I am obliged to you for the kind & partial opinion you express of me, & will endeavour to deserve as much of it as I can— I have had many conferences with Fortescue¹ & Wilson² in Relation to the Irish Office & do beleive much may be done both for the Improvement of the Revenue & of commercial Correspondence³— I have directed a very full Report to be made to us, which will be for our consideration when I have the pleasure to meet your Lordship in Lombard Street—Enclosed I send you the D. of Northumberland's⁴ & Sir W. Blackett's⁵ Letters to me about the Post Office at Newcastle. To the first I wrote that I did not doubt of Y^r Lordships' concurrence with me in appointing Mr W^m Parker, which if your Lordship does consent to, I should wish you would be pleased to give directions accordingly ; to Sir Walter I wrote I was sorry my Engagement to the previous application of the Duke put it out of our power to oblige him upon this occasion. I hope Your Lordship has received my Letter in which I express my Satisfaction at your having had an opportunity to make some provision for your young Relation⁶—I will

¹ William Henry Fortescue (1722-1806), Lord Clermont, Deputy Postmaster General in Ireland 1764-84.

² John Wilson, Secretary and Accountant to the Post Office in Ireland until 1768.

³ For the outcome of these conferences see letter of 18 December 1767.

⁴ Hugh Smithson (1712-86), created Earl Percy and Duke of Northumberland in 1766. He was Lord Lieutenant of Ireland 1763-5 and Master of the Horse 1778-80.

⁵ Sir Walter Blackett, M.P. for Newcastle-on-Tyne from 1734 until his death in 1777.

⁶ John Walcot (1740-1819), younger son of John Walcot of Walcot, Shropshire, and his wife Mary Dashwood King, Despencer's half-sister. He became Accountant General in the Post Office in November 1767, Secretary and Comptroller to the Post Office in Ireland in March 1771, Agent to the Postmaster

write to Potts in relation to the vacant Letter-Carriers'¹ Places.

I am sorry for the Duke of York,² chiefly indeed upon the King's account, for I am sure the loss of a Brother must affect his aimiable Heart; for with all due respect to His Royal Highness I am not sure the Public Loss is very great.

My Lord Lieut^t ³ was not arrived when I left Dublin which was the 6th, nor was it then known what day he would come. When you mention your melancholly Confinement I do assure you My Dear Lord I feel the utmost concern for you, at the same time I cannot but admire your Patience, & your tender & affectionate conduct towards the Unhappy Lady who is the occasion of it; I do not mention my ineffectuale wishes upon this subject because they are so, & yet I cannot help forming them in the most fervent manner; such as they are My Dear Lord accept them in good part, & as a mark of the real respect & attachment with which I am

Your Lordship's
Most Obedient and most
Faithfull, Humble Servant
Hillsborough

British Museum, Egerton MS. 2136, fol. 112.

Lord Hillsborough to Lord Le Despencer.

Hanover Square
18 Dec 1767

My Dear Lord,

I am extremely sorry that your Lordship is not well and that Lady Despencer continues so ill, & yet I wish if it were not very

General at Dover and Deputy Postmaster at Dover in October 1774 (cf. his letters to Despencer in 1773 and 1774). His elder brother Charles (b. 1738) succeeded Dashwood as M.P. for Weymouth, 1763-8, and was High Sheriff of Shropshire in 1782.

¹ Cf. letter of 29 March 1769, note 4.

² Edward, Duke of York, 1739-67.

³ George Townshend (1724-1807), 4th Viscount and 1st Marquis Townshend, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland August 1767-October 1772.

inconvenient & disagreeable to you that you would come to Town. Mr Robinson¹ is I believe ready with his Report upon Fortescue's Papers, & as I am clear in my Opinion, that the carrying that measure² into Execution will be very advantageous in the consequence of it, both to the Public & the Revenue, I wish to partake in the honour of it—the Waters are troubled, the Sky lowrs, & everything portends a Storm, my little Bark is not so constructed as to live on tempestuous Seas, so that whatever becomes of your Lordship's better built vessel, to w^{ch} I wish a most prosperous voyage whithersoever you wish her to go, mine will probably sink. How soon this may happen I know not but I rather beleive very soon ;³ I shd therefore wish to complete everything your Lordship joins with me in thinking right as soon as possible. It will give me infinite satisfaction to hear that your domestick disquietudes incline to give your mind some respite ; indeed, My Dear Lord, I admire your Constancy & Patience but old Shakespere has told us, & I wish I did not know, that the bearing our misfortunes like Men, will not prevent our feeling them like Men—I am with the sincerest & most respectfull Esteem

Your Lordship's
Most Faithfull &
Most Obedient Servant
Hillsborough.

¹ Atkinson Robinson, Resident Surveyor in the Inland Department of the Post Office 1768-86.

² Fortescue's plan was to provide a "Six Days Post between England and Ireland" by adding three packet boats to the three existing ones between Holyhead and Dublin and establishing three additional inland posts between Dublin and Cork and between Dublin and Belfast. His plan was referred to Robinson, who reported favourably on it, and then sent, with the Postmaster General's recommendation, to the Treasury, which approved of the plan and authorised the necessary expenditure on 8 January 1768 (General Post Office, Treasury Letter Book (1760-71), pp. 228-36).

³ Hillsborough's "bark" did not sink during Grafton's attempts to strengthen the government in December 1767 and January 1768. On the contrary, he was appointed to the new office of Secretary of State for the Colonies in January 1768, and though he resigned in August 1772 he held office as Secretary of State for the Northern Department from 1779 to 1782.

*Anthony Todd¹ to
The Right Honourable Lord Le Despencer.*

General Post Office
March 29 1769

My Lord,

I have signified to Mr. Jolliffe,² that I should instantly transmit a copy of his Application now inclosed to Your Lordship and Lord Sandwich³ but I did not suppose You could meet at the Board here before the End of next Week, when it will be [time] sufficient to replace the two additional Supernumerary Porters Hurls and Sharp lately appointed, who think themselves overworked and refuse to go round for the Receivers Bags.⁴ I have taken the liberty to hint to Lord Sandwich a Desire to see them replaced by good honest sober active young Men, which indeed they should be, as the Duty is laborious and they are every Minute intrusted with His Majesty's Dispatches, and all sorts of Letters and Expresses public and private.

¹ An officer in the Post Office since 1738, Secretary of the Foreign Department 1752-87, Secretary of the Inland Department 1762-5 and 1768-98 (d. 1798).

² William Jolliffe (d. 1802), M.P. for Petersfield from 1768 to his death. He was appointed a Commissioner for Trade and Plantations in 1772 and a Lord of the Admiralty in 1783. The application referred to was possibly a recommendation for the Deputy Postmastership of Petersfield (cf. letter of 26 September 1770 and note).

³ John Montagu (1718-92), 4th Earl of Sandwich, was Joint Postmaster General with Despencer from January 1768 to December 1770, when he was appointed First Lord of the Admiralty.

⁴ The area of London in which letters were delivered to the houses of the persons to whom they were addressed by the Letter Carriers or Porters of the Inland Department was roughly 12 square miles, stretching about 4 miles to the west of the General Post Office, to Paddington, about 3 miles to the east, about a mile to the north and about 2 miles to the south. This fell within the area served by the Penny Post Office and was slightly smaller, especially to the east of the General Post Office. When the Inland Department Letter Carriers had finished their delivery, which began about 10 o'clock in the morning, they returned to the General Post Office, collecting and taking with them the bags containing letters which had been left at Receiving Houses. The Foreign Department and the Penny Post Office had their own Letter Carriers and Receiving Houses. In 1787 the Inland Department employed 110 Established and 12 Supernumerary Letter Carriers, the Foreign Department employed 12 Established Letter Carriers and the Penny Post Office employed 43 Town Letter Carriers, 33 Country Letter Carriers and 7 Supernumerary Letter Carriers (*10th Report on Fees*, 1788, p. 760).

Lord Sandwich ordered me to send the Letter inclosed for Jamaica for Your Lordship's Approbation as it contains an Augmentation to that Deputy's Salary which though double the present is certainly not too much or scarce enough, for it appears by his Accounts that his Clerk has had near £120 a year while the Principal had only £50 a year.¹

Mr Thos. Ripley of the Exchequer has just now said here that he knows for certain Lord Chatham will be at Court tomorrow, which is all I know of the Matter. I am ever

My Lord Your Lordship's most
truly obedient Serv^t
Anth. Todd.

As Your Lordship loves Mrs. Jones I inclose her Letter for your Amusement.

*Anthony Todd to
The Right Honourable Lord Le Despencer.*

General Post Office
March 31 1769

My Lord,

I am humbly to thank Your Lordship for the two kind Letters this Morning which accompanied a Number of Papers that I am happy to find have rec^d Your Lordship's Approbation.

I have wrote a Line to meet with Lord Sandwich on coming to Town concerning the Office at Uxbridge if it should just now be vacant, though if poor Hayes lives til to morrow it will be with Your Lordship to appoint. As I know Lord Sandwich is engaged on Monday and cannot come to the Office, I have signified that if You could both appoint Friday next or any Day certain I would according to my promise give all the Merchants using Old and New Lloyds Office Houses notice to attend the Board as they have directed, that Your Lordships may if possible settle one House only with them for the Ship News² to avoid

¹ In 1787 the Deputy Postmaster for Jamaica had a salary of £150, with an allowance of £114 7s. for his clerks. This was the highest paid of the Deputy Postmasterships for the Plantations, and the only one which had an allowance for clerks (*ibid.* p. 876).

² Information about the arrival and sailing of ships from all parts was sent to the Postmaster General and passed immediately to the Master of Lloyd's

the present Confusion, but, as I shall have the Pleasure to attend Your Lordship the beginning of next Week I need not say more for the present than that I am My Lord Your Lordship's forever most obedient Servant

Anth. Todd.

I have done everything relative to the inclosed from Dr. Franklin¹ which however Your Lordship will be much more glad to read than that from Mrs Jones. It is an high Satisfaction to observe already the great Utility of leaving it to the Option of the Writer to pay or not the postage beforehand to & from America &c.²—I find however the Deputy of Barbadoes has by that means had an Opportunity to get £300 in Debt to the Office and the Deputy of Grenada £150 but I shall call on them both in my Letters of next Wednesday in as serious a Manner as on Mess^{rs} Franklin & Foxcroft.³

*Lord Botetourt*⁴ to *Lord Le Despencer*.

Williamsburg
May 23 1769

A Million of thanks My Dear Lord for the kind attention you have shewn to my wishes relative to the Deputy Coffee House for his use. The sum of £200 a year which he paid for this service was divided equally between the Secretary and the Comptroller of the Inland Department.

¹ Benjamin Franklin (1706-90) was one of the two Deputy Postmasters General for North America from 1753 to 1774. (Cf. letter of 4 February 1774 for his dismissal.)

² On 30 January 1765 the Post Office recommended to the Treasury that it should allow prepayment of postage on letters sent out of Great Britain (Treasury Letter Book (1760-71), p. 155). In accordance with this recommendation, the Post Office Act of 1765 (5 Geo. 3, c. 25, s. 16) empowered the Postmaster General, at his discretion, to demand such prepayment.

³ John Foxcroft, the other Deputy Postmaster General for North America. He was forced to return to England about 1775: in 1778 he was given a grant of £200 towards his life subsistence, and in 1779 an allowance of £100 a year from 5 April 1775 "until reinstated . . . or otherwise provided for" (Treasury Letter Book (1770-8), pp. 253-4; Public Record Office, T29/48, p. 470). In the *10th Report on Fees*, 1788, he appears as Agent at New York with a pension of £150 a year as late Deputy Postmaster General for North America (*10th Report*, 1788, p. 876).

⁴ Norborne Berkeley, 4th Baron Botetourt. He was M.P. for Gloucestershire from 1741 to 1763, when the abeyance of the Barony of Botetourt was terminated

Postmasterships of Gloster; You have done perfectly right in giving way to the Duke of Grafton¹ and that that is my opinion You will clearly perceive by the inclosed Copy of my answer to His Grace—I cannot grieve at the colour of your paper—Lady Dashwood's miserable state of health made it impossible for her best friends to wish its continuance — You may depend upon my sending to you in the Autumn some curious Plants and seeds of this Country — My charming prospect of being able to answer the purposes of our Gracious Master in his Colony of Virginia seems at present to be at an end and so you will learn from our friend Lord Hillsborough — The trade of Basket making in a certain Stile is at a very low Ebb in Williamsburg, but agree with you that it will continue to flourish in the City of London — Have so completely lost every Idea of that sort, that I could not immediately understand your cheerful Paragraph — I grieve at your account of Lord Litchfield's² Dumb Gout; was pleased with the history of Lord Talbot's³ seizing the Rioters⁴ who attempted to disturb the Merchants when they were going to St James's and rejoice that he is well—

Most affectionately Y^{rs}

Botetourt.

in his favour, Groom of the Bedchamber 1760-4, Lord Lieutenant of Gloucestershire 1762-6. He was appointed Governor of Virginia in July 1768 in order to give Virginia a resident Governor in place of the non-resident Sir Jeffrey Amherst (cf. Bodleian Library, North MS. d. 24, fol. 44 and Albemarle, *Memoirs of Rockingham*, vol. ii. p. 79), and resided there until his death in October 1770. The importance attached to Botetourt's residence in America has a parallel in Despencer's insistence that Franklin's successor should be resident (cf. Despencer's notes to Todd, February 1774).

¹ Augustus Henry Fitzroy (1735-1811), 3rd Duke of Grafton, Secretary of State 1765-6, First Lord of the Treasury 1766-70, Lord Privy Seal 1771-5 and 1782-3.

² George Henry Lee (1718-72), M.P. for Oxfordshire 1740-3, 3rd Earl of Lichfield 1743, Chancellor of Oxford University 1762-72.

³ William Talbot (1710-82), 2nd Baron and 1st Earl Talbot, was appointed Lord Steward of the Household in 1761.

⁴ After Wilkes' expulsion by the House of Commons on 16 March 1769 his opponents carried a loyal address to St. James's, where they were intercepted by his supporters.

Lord Sandwich to Lord Le Despencer.

Southampton Street

Hitchingbrook

Sept 28 [1769]

My Dear Lord,

I am almost ashamed to write to you upon Post Office business having been so idle for the whole summer ; but indeed there is so little business that requires our attendance, & we have the good fortune to agree so perfectly well in every thing that requires an opinion, that there is very little occasion we should put ourselves to any inconvenience by a personal attendance.

It seems however to be wished that we might have an interview before the tenth of October when the new regulations in the Office¹ are to take place ; I desired Mr Todd to tell you that I thought it would be better we should put two Clerks at £50 a year & two boys, than to nominate four boys, as we shall then each of us have an opportunity of providing for two persons of different ages ; I shall be glad if this idea meets with your approbation.

Mr Todd will inform you that we have ordered four Post Masters to come to town from Durham & that neighbourhood to answer for their misbehaviour about sending an Express by an improper Conveyance.² I think when they come we should be both present to receive them, & had better regulate our meeting in town according to the time when they will be there : if that cannot be before the 10th of October, I think the nomination of our Clerks & Sorters may be made in our absence ; as I should be sorry to be obliged to take two journeys to London, & perhaps you may not have any more inclination for unnecessary journeys than myself.

¹ These regulations were concerned with the sending of letters to the General Post Office from the Receiving Houses in the metropolis. Hitherto Receiving Houses had been open for the receipt of letters only on Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday, the General or Grand Post Nights : it was now arranged that they should be open every night. The new arrangement, which was combined with an improvement in the method of stamping, sorting and taxing letters, necessitated an increase of four in the staff of the Inland Department and extra allowances to the Receivers and to the Carriers who brought the letters to the General Post Office. The new regulations and the additional expense were explained to the Treasury on 9 October 1769 (Treasury Letter Book (1760-71), pp. 287-9).

² Cf. letter of 26 September 1770 for another example of postmasters' misconduct in regard to expresses.

Mr Todd has an idea of saving the appointment of a Comptroller for the bye nights,¹ by the allotting that department (which is rendered necessary by our new regulation) to the management of one of the Clerks of the roads who is willing to do it for nothing.² I am allways a friend to oeconomy, & shall readily agree to this arrangement, if you approve it ; but I know that the consequence of it will be, that we shall deprive ourselves of the appointment to a good office, which some future Post Masters will dispose of : as I never knew any good come from people doing business for nothing ; which allways ends by either themselves, or their successors being paid for their trouble, sooner or later.

I am

My Dear Lord

Most faithfully yours
Sandwich.

Anthony Todd to Lord Le Despencer.

General Post Office
October 3 1769

My Lord,

I either have already or shall directly obey the several agreeable Commands in Your Lordships Letters of the 29 and 30th past,

¹ The Comptroller of the Bye-Nights shared with the Comptroller of the Inland Office the supervision of the business of the Inland Office, that is, the despatch of letters by the Clerks of the Roads in the evenings and the delivery of letters in the mornings. On Monday, Wednesday and Friday evenings (the Bye-Nights) and on Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday mornings this duty was performed by the Comptroller of the Bye-Nights ; on Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday evenings (the Grand Nights) and on Monday, Wednesday and Friday mornings it was performed by the Comptroller of the Inland Office. Until the middle of the eighteenth century mail was despatched to all parts of the country on the Grand Nights and only to certain parts on the Bye-Nights, but the terms Grand and Bye-Nights persisted into a period when mail was despatched to all parts on every night.

Todd's proposal seems to have been effected in spite of Sandwich's opposition. In 1788, for example, Jacob Shann, Clerk of the North Road, was Comptroller of the Bye-Nights, and his duties as Clerk were performed by junior officers in the Inland Department (*10th Report on Fees*, 1788, p. 811).

² There were six main post roads : Chester, North, West, Bristol, Yarmouth, Kent (or Dover). The mail for each road was in charge of a Clerk and an Assistant.

and in all Respects comformable also to the Wishes of Lord Sandwich in the inclosed, to which I gave an Answer last Night, and amongst other things signified that "the Appointment of a Bye Night Comptroller¹ will be better postponed until Your Lordships meet which may now perhaps be put off till near the Kings' Accession on the 25th, so that it will not be necessary for the present to offer any in addition to what I have before suggested, except that, seeing the want of such an Officer implies the Necessity to take him out of that very Office where they rise in Rotation, it can only occasion a Vacancy at the Bottom which the taking a Clerk of a Road for will occasion equally the same, and so far from some future Clerk of a Road expecting a Salary, any of them at any Time will be glad of it without, for it is only changing a more laborious Duty for a more easy and genteel one, and there cannot be a better proof of this, than that any one of the present Clerks of the Roads would now be glad to make the same change." With respect to the posts in Mr Foley's² Neighbour Road, as no Alteration therein can for want of time take place this Quarter there is Leisure to consider it further against the next.

To morrow I am to be at Chelmsford upon County Business, much against My Mind. I hope to return at Night, but at all Events Your Lordship may be certain of my receiving here on Friday Morning any Commands you may be pleased to send me, when I would beg the Favour to have Lord Sandwich's Letter returned to me.

As the Russian Fleet of 15 Sail has for certain passed the Sound, and the Wind being fair, we may every Hour expect to hear of them being upon our Coast and most likely the Humber first.

I am My Lord,
Your Lordship's most
faithful servant
Anth. Todd.

¹ Cf. letter of 29 September 1769.

² Probably Thomas Foley (d. 1793), M.P. for Herefordshire 1768-76, when he was created Baron Foley. He was Joint Postmaster General from May 1783 to January 1784.

*Copy.**Mathew Brickdale¹ to Anthony Todd.*

Bristol

November 27th 1769

Sir,

Inclosed are two Covers which are Charged to me, and which on Application to the Post Master here for a return of, he tells me he cannot make as there is a peculiar Mark on them for that purpose, and that I must therefore make Application to you. Be pleased therefore to give him directions to return me the Postage, and to whoever has made these Marks, not to make any more such, unless you can point out to me why they should be charged—I presume it was only done on a supposition that I had no concerns in the Copper Company.

I am &c

Math^r Brickdale.*Copy.**Anthony Todd to Mathew Brickdale.*

General Post Office

November 30th 1769

Sir,

I have received the Letter you were pleased to write me the 27th Instant, with the Inclosed Covers, and beg leave to acquaint you in Answer thereto, that as the Act² for preventing Frauds

¹ Mathew Brickdale, copper merchant, M.P. for Bristol 1768-74, 1780-4 and 1784-90. (The name appears by misprint as Martin Birckdale in L. B. Namier, *The Structure of Politics at the Accession of George III*, vol. ii, p. 582.)

² After 1760, when the Post Office revenue was merged in the general revenue of the country, the privilege of sending and receiving letters free of charge, previously granted to members of parliament (and to certain ministers and officials) by royal warrant, had to be considered by parliament. The Act of 1764 (4 Geo. 3, c. 24) continued the privilege, granting it to members of parliament during the session and for forty days before and after it, but imposed restrictions (based on the recommendations of a Committee appointed in 1764) designed to reduce the "great and notorious Frauds . . . frequently practised". Brickdale complains of one of these restrictions, imposed as a result of the Committee's finding that the practice of directing letters to members "at other places than the places of their usual Residence or where they actually are at the time, in order to carry Letters to other persons free," was widespread (Treasury

and Abuses in Franking declares that no Letter or Packets directed to a Lord or Member of Parliament shall be exempted from paying the Duty of Postage except such as are addressed to him at any of the Places of his usual Residence, or at the Place where he shall actually be at the time of the Delivery thereof, or at the House of Parliament, it is not in the Post Master General's Power to deliver any Letters free of Postage directed to you at the Copper Warehouse in Small Street Bristol, as it can by no means be considered as your Place of Residence, and indeed without this Limitation there would be great Abuses not only of the Revenue but of the Members Names which this Act, by the very Title of it, is intended to prevent.

If however you should signify upon any of the Covers that they were opened by you and were really for yourself, the Postage will be instantly returned, the true intent and meaning of the Act being, that Members at all Places should receive their Letters free.

I am &c
Anth. Todd, Secy.

Copy.

Mathew Brickdale to Anthony Todd.

Bristol

December 4 1769

Sir,

The Contents of your Letter of the 30th ult^o. do not at all convince me that I am not to receive my Letters free of Postage because directed to me at the Copper Warehouse, and as it is one of the Privileges annexed to Parliament by the Act you mention, and which was and is my Guide, I do not think myself at Liberty, if I was inclined, to give it up.

Letter Book (1760-71), p. 247). It is clear that neither this nor other restrictions imposed by the Act were effective. The Post Office Memorial of 17 November 1772 to the Treasury included among its "most material" proposals a request for more effective restriction of the privilege, and alleged that the loss to the revenue by franking frauds and abuses had increased steadily since 1764—the value of letters sent free (including letters sent to, from and through London, Bye and Cross Roads letters, Scotland and Ireland) increased from £51,818 in 1765 to £97,048 in 1772 (Treasury Letter Book (1770-8), pp. 28-36).

It's impossible the Act can, for it would be very strange if it did mean, that Postage should be charged to a Member of Parliament for Letters that should happen to be sent to him with more words on them than his Name and the Town where he resided, for the Town is undoubtedly the Construction to be put on the Words of the Act "the Place of his Residence", as the Postage does not arise on any Letter from the Delivery of it at a particular House in a Town, but because it's brought to the Town, where that House is.

As to the abuse that is possible to be made of a Member's Name; it is at the Peril of the Person who abuses it; there is no abuse of mine in the present Case, and I therefore trust I shall have no Occasion to give myself more trouble on this subject, but that you will give the directions mentioned in my last.

I am &c
Math^r Brickdale.

Copy.

Anthony Todd to Mathew Brickdale.

General Post Office
December 6th 1769

Sir,

I have received the Letter you were pleased to write me the 4th Instant, concerning the Letters addressed to you at the Copper Warehouse in Small Street Bristol being charged with the Duty of Postage.

There is no doubt but that Lords and Members of Parliament have a right to their own Letters free wherever they may receive them, and you will be pleased to observe by the inclosed Printed Instructions, which have been sent to every Deputy Post Master in the Kingdom, that such Directions were given upon the Commencement of the Act for preventing Frauds and Abuses in Franking; but, in order to preserve the advantages which have arisen to this Revenue from the Regulations contained in that Act, the Post Master General have discountenanced all Directions to Warehouses, Counting Houses etc though they may be the property of the Member, as conceiving such Places

not to come within the Letter or Spirit of the Term usual Residence. Their Lordships cannot therefore, as I informed you the 30th past, suffer any Letters addressed to you at the Copper Warehouse to pass free as that can by no means be considered as your Place of Residence ; the Postage of such however as are really for yourself will be instantly returned by the deputy of Bristol on your taking the trouble to mark the Covers for that purpose.

I am &c
Anth. Todd, Secy.

Copy.

Mathew Brickdale to Anthony Todd.

Bristol
December 9th 1769

Sir,

Finding by your reply to my Letter of the 4th Instant, that, notwithstanding I have given Notice to your Office that Letters directed to me at the Copper Warehouse are for me, it's persisted in that they are not delivered to me free of Postage, I am driven to the disagreeable necessity, which I was in hopes to have avoided, of making Application to Parliament¹ the ensuing Sessions for their sense of the Act, of whose meaning I have in this Case, and, I cannot but think the House will have, a totally different Opinion to that you have given it. I neither want nor do I seek for anything but what I conceive to be, as I wrote you before, a Priviledge of Parliament, and therefore only intrusted with me, and not in my Power, or Will to part with ; should the Members of Parliament chose to be more confined than by the present Act I shall have no objection to it, but as it stands at present, and in the present Instance I think the

¹ This threat does not seem to have been carried out. But the Post Office later consulted the Attorney General on the question of payment of postage on letters addressed to Members of Parliament at their places of business, and on 17 June 1772 reported to the Treasury his Opinion "that there can be no doubt in Cases where Members live in places absolutely different from those in which their Trade is carried on, that the Letters directed to them at the last place ought to be charged" (Treasury Letter Book (1771-8), p. 18 : P.R.O. T29/42, p. 724).

Privilege violated ; as I do also in another which is in practice, I mean that of charging Postage for Ship Letters.¹ I could enlarge much on both these subjects, but shall now say no more than that I am &c

Math^w Brickdale.

Anthony Todd to Lord Le Despencer.

General Post Office
September 3rd 1770

My Lord,

I am proceeding about Mail Carts,² Guards &c exactly as Your Lordship agreed, and be pleased to Depend on it too, as fast as possible to avoid Mistakes and being laughed at by the Public, about which care must be taken, as we are all the while to convey Letters as at other Times without Mistake or Delay, so that I am too much employed to accept Your Lordship's kind Invitation for a Day this Week, and must beg two Holydays at Wicombe in Lieu of it upon a future Occasion I am therefore sure Your Lordship will not at this busy Time nor indeed at any other direct me to write more to Mr Hart than I have done in the inclosed which I now send with the Copy of his to me

¹ Ship letters were letters carried to or from the country not in packet boats but in private ships. Two clauses of the Post Office Act of 1711 (9 Anne, c. 10) referred to ship letters : section 6 imposed a charge of one penny, over and above the ordinary rates of postage, on letters brought from or taken to private ships, and section 15 provided that, in order to avoid delays in the delivery of ship letters brought to the country, the master of the ship bringing them should hand them immediately to the Deputy Postmaster of the area in which the port of arrival was situated, who would pay him one penny for each letter handed over. Brickdale's complaint is directed against two clauses of the Post Office Act of 1765 (5 Geo. 3, c. 25) : section 4 which imposed an extra penny on ship letters brought to the country, and section 3 which, in order to prevent evasion of section 15 of the Act of 1711, declared that no ship should be allowed to "break bulk or make entry" until the letters it carried had been handed to the Deputy Postmaster of the port of arrival, who was immediately to charge them and to forward them in the ordinary course of the post. To enforce these clauses the Commissioners of Customs forbade their officers to allow "any ship . . . to make entry till their letters are delivered" to the Deputy Postmaster (P.R.O., T29/40, p. 60 ; Treasury Letter Book (1760-71), p. 286).

² Cf. letter of 29 September 1770.

purely for Information, and beg leave to conclude with repeating how heartily I am

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most
devoted faithful servant

Anth. Todd.

Anthony Todd to Lord Le Despencer.

General Post Office

September 26th 1770

My Lord,

I send Duplicates of the Inclosures herewith to Lord Sandwich and wait Your Lordship's Pleasure upon them. As to Mr Jolliffe¹ it is rather making a property of the Office too much to desire to change the Postmaster every Time he takes a new Tenant, but as he is the Member it may perhaps be necessary to oblige him. As this is a second Time that the Postmasters of Coleshill and Litchfield have sent an Express by the Stage Coach² and have screened each other, perhaps at the next Board it may be thought necessary to appoint others. It was a great disappointment to me that Your Lordship could not see the new carriage on Monday, especially as one of them is to proceed down the North Road on Saturday Night with the Mail for Lord Sandwich's Inspection, and therefore I send it with the Mails of tomorrow Night to Your Lordship with Johnson³ to explain it and I am certain Your Lordship will like it, and it must return hither again on Friday to carry the Dutch

¹ Cf. letter of 29 March 1769. Thomas Page, Deputy Postmaster at Petersfield, sent his resignation to Todd on 24 September 1770, saying that Jolliffe had asked him to resign. On the same day Jolliffe wrote to Todd recommending James Wheatley, who had succeeded Page as tenant of the Old White Hart Inn, Petersfield, as his successor in the Deputy Postmastership.

² Letters of 20 and 22 September from the Deputy Postmasters of Coleshill and Lichfield to Todd, in answer to his enquiries, revealed that an Express had been sent from Coleshill to Lichfield by coach instead of by special messenger. Sandwich's letter of 28 September to Gower shows how seriously such a breach of regulations was regarded.

³ Possibly Edward Johnson, Letter Carrier in the Inland Department 1778, Inspector of Letter Carriers 1787, Comptroller of the London Penny Post Office, 1794.

Mail of that Night to Harwich. There will be no great difficulty to get the Deputies to build Bodies of such Carriages at least by giving of them £10 or so towards the first, provided it is built before some certain Day to be Mentioned.

As Mr Walcot is coming to Your Lordship it makes it not necessary to say more on the Scheme of Mr Osborne and Young Mr Walcot changing Employments,¹ which I shall explain to Lord Sandwich to Night and no doubt satisfactorily, as the two Clerks² in the Accomptants' Office below Mr Walcot junr and placed there by his Lordship make no Objection but on the contrary see it is their Interest to have Osborne stand before them instead of a younger man.

I am My Lord
Your Lordship's most
faithful servant
Anth. Todd.

Copy.

*Lord Sandwich to Earl Gower*³

Hinchingbrook
September 28th 1770

My Dear Lord,

The PostMasters of Litchfield & Coleshill have been guilty of one of the greatest offences that can be committed by a Post

¹ There were four Walcots in the Post Office during this period: John (cf. letter of 10 October 1767, note); Humphrey (b. 1753, son of Rev. Humphrey Walcot of Bitterley, Shropshire, of a younger branch of the Walcots) who started in the Accountant General's Office, became a Clerk in the Secretary's Office in 1770 and was 2nd Clerk and Inspector of Dead Letters 1783-6; his younger brother Charles (b. 1755) who was Accountant of the Penny Post Office in London 1782-4 and became Comptroller in December 1784; another Charles, who became a Clerk in the Accountant General's Office in April 1771, 1st Clerk in 1775 and deputy to the Comptroller of the Penny Post Office (the other Charles Walcot) in December 1784. The proposed exchange seems to have been between Humphrey, who moved from the Accountant's to the Secretary's Office in 1770, and John Osborne, who moved from the Secretary's to the Accountant's Office and apparently retired soon afterwards.

² Thomas Church and Thomas Mainwaring. There were 6 Clerks in the Secretary's Office and 3 in the Accountant's Office.

³ Granville Leveson Gower (1721-1803), 2nd Earl Gower (1754), 1st Marquis of Stafford (1786). He was Lord President of the Council 1767-79 and 1783-4.

Master, namely that of sending an Express by a Coach ; it is the same crime for which Mr Fuller of Hounslow & several others have been turned out ; & I could heartily wish it might be not of any material consequence to your interest that we should proceed against these Gentlemen as we have done on other similar occasions ; if they are excused it will be a precedent that will do immense prejudice to our business ; as it is extremely tempting to the Post Masters to be paid for Expresses, and to put the whole into their pocket without any charge of horses or Servants : you will easily conceive that this is not to be prevented but by our keeping a very tight hand over them, and not forgiving them when are found out, which seldom happens ; unless, as in the present case, when some accident or delay happens about the delivery of the Letter.

We shall wait your answer before any Measure is taken on this occasion, & I heartily wish you may give us leave to proceed according to our wish ; but if you lay a restraint upon our proceeding, which certainly no one has a better right to do than yourself, we must at all events terrify them & punish them as much as our power will allow us, without proceeding to the utmost extent of it, namely that of removal from office

I am &c
Sandwich.

Anthony Todd to Lord Le Despencer.

General Post Office
September 28th 1770

My Lord,

I am not a little uneasy to find the new Mail Cart was left in the Yard here last Night instead of being sent to Your Lordship's according to the Directions that had been given in the most distinct Manner, and as it is necessary to send it on the Harwich Road again it will be next Thursday Night at the soonest that it can come towards Wickham. Having received the inclosed this morning from Lord Sandwich, which be pleased to return, before I can forward one to Lord Gower, I presume it will be right for Mr Osborne to stay with me as at present and not

exchange with Mr Walcot jun^r until Your Lordships settle that point.

I am very glad it is so fallen out that Mr Piers,¹ who has the Option, very readily accepts the Window Man's place.² I am sure it is for both his Interest and Comfort, and he at the same [time] will be a creditable person at the Window, but on the other Hand I am sorry for the Necessity there was to day to suspend Oliver³ Your Housekeepers Brother for demanding of Mr Blackburn,⁴ a Merchant whom I have seen on the Occasion and face to face, half a Crown saying it was Mr Braithwaites⁵ Fee on the Express he delivered and a Shilling for himself as porter, neither of which was True, for the Fee is half a Crown only for the Established porter for whom Oliver carried it and nothing for himself. Upon searching into this practice I find the other Supernum^y Porters having none of his half Crown for themselves have shamefully begged at Times a little more, so that Oliver I do think ought to be restored, a strict Charge given that no more than the half Crown shall be taken, even if offered, and that these poor Supernumeraries should have a Shilling or half the Fee on any such Express as they actual carry, whether Inwards or Outwards from hence, to make it consistent by the Reward attending the Service, being the very reason that Mr

¹ Henry Piers, who was Alphabet Keeper and Window Man 1770-87 (Post Office Establishment Book, 1770 ; *10th Report on Fees* 1788, p. 817).

² The duty of the Window Man was to receive money for letters delivered and paid for at the Window of the Inland Office, money collected by Letter Carriers from Receiving Houses and money collected by the Penny Post Office, and to pay it over to the Receiver General of the Post Office.

³ Richard Oliver, a Supernumerary Messenger, who became an Established Messenger in 1770. The salary of Established Messengers was 12s. a week, with 3s. salary out of incidents and various allowances which brought their total emoluments to about £170 a year. They received 2s. 6d. for each Express (5s. if sent on horseback). The salary of Supernumerary Messengers was 15s. a week, with allowances which brought their total emoluments to about £60 a year. In 1787 there were three Established and four Supernumerary Messengers (*10th Report on Fees*, 1788, pp. 828-9).

⁴ John Blackburn, merchant. In 1776 he obtained a contract to supply 100,000 gallons of West India rum to the forces in America (P.R.O., T29/46, p. 59).

⁵ Daniel Braithwaite, First Clerk in the Secretary's Office 1765-8, Clerk to the Postmaster General, 1768.

Piers is made the Window Man and not Barnes,¹ who might have become a Clerk of a Road at the same Time he was collecting Fees for another person.

I forgot to day to ask Johnson about the Particulars of the Post Master of Witham's Carriage supposed Mr. Wright's, but on his return from Harwich he told me it was like that of Your Lordships at present in Use here. I have not advertised the Robbery of the Mail² near Steyning as it is of little value, would make a Noise, and the £50 is of course already offered. I am ever Your Lordships True Servant

Anth. Todd.

Anthony Todd to Lord Le Despencer.

General Post Office
September 29th 1770

My Lord,

Permit me for the present to send the inclosed only, which has been much too long promised, to thank Your Lordship for Your kind Letter of Yesterday, and to pledge myself that all the Contrivances³ that I have any concern in and now under Consideration are with the View of carrying Your Lordships original Idea into execution, not only to defend the Mails from Rogues and the Weather but to leave off the Leather Portmanteaus, and thereby in many Instances one Horse will be sufficient where two are in use at present; but it will require that each Post Master upon a Road should first have one Carriage of a proper Construction, otherwise upon the Mail Cart breaking down,

¹ Edward Barnes, an officer in the Post Office since 1762, became Clerk of the Chester Road and Deputy Comptroller of the Bye-Nights in 1782.

² The Post Office Act of 1765 (5 Geo. 3, c. 25, s. 18) stated that any person robbing the mail "shall be deemed guilty of Felony and shall suffer Death as a Felon".

³ These experiments with mail carts and with other methods of improving the speed and safety of the carriage of mail (referred to in the letter of 3 September and in this and the three following letters) have not been noticed in accounts of the Post Office. They suggest that the Post Office in this period was not as unprogressive as it has been painted. The official caution about the use of coaches to carry mail arose not from a stubborn refusal to consider new methods but from a reasonable doubt whether mail coaches would achieve what was claimed for them, and their introduction in 1784 clearly did not mean a revolutionary change from methods which had been unchanged from the beginning.

which must often happen, the Deputies will be at a Loss how to carry the Bags forward.

I am My Lord
Your Lordship's most
faithful Servant
Anth. Todd.

Anthony Todd to Lord Le Despencer.

General Post Office
October 1st 1770

My Lord,

There cannot possibly be a Kinder or more agreeable Letter than Your Lordships to me of Yesterday, with such good Nature towards me and candour about all our Office Matters, there cannot be a doubt of getting forward in all Your Improvements for the safe and secure Carriage of Letters, nor in anything else as it may occur, and I hope for very many Years to come, provided Your Lordship does not ambition any higher Post, and is content with Your present Situation as I am with mine. As the Mail Cart cannot be spared from the Harwich Road any Time this week except on Thursday Night, and I find Your Lordship being at home on Friday Morning is rather uncertain, the sending it down to West Wycombe had best be deferred to another Time.

Lord Sandwich thinks of being in Town this week & to come one Day, Friday I suppose, to the Office,

I am My Lord,
Your Lordship's forever
obedient Servant
Anth. Todd.

Mr Osborne may rely on my utmost care of his son whilst he stays with me.

Anthony Todd to Lord Le Despencer.

General Post Office,
October 4th 1770

My Lord,

I shall acquaint Lord Sandwich that your Lordship will meet Him on Thursday next at the Board, and as Mr Braithwaite

accompanies this to attend Your Lordship, which he is happy to have the opportunity of doing, in order to open the Mail Cart, I need not write much more, as he will explain to Your Lordship that the Vacancy by Mr Parry's Death gives you the Appointments attending it by any Changes that may be thought right, and all that may next Week be contributed to Your Lordships full Satisfaction ; in the mean time be pleased to believe me,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's very
devoted Servant

Anth. Todd.

Anthony Todd to Lord Le Despencer.

General Post Office

October 5th 1770

My Lord,

Mr. Johrson is returned from Boroughbridge safe and successful with the new 4 wheeled Mail Cart and will attend Your Lordships here on Thursday next ; in the mean Time we shall consider the proper Sizes of some Mail Cart Bodies for the Bags only, to Your Lordship's satisfaction I am very certain. I write Lord Sandwich the same to Night and have requested His Company, in case Your Lordship should be pleased to dine that Day with me, and though it is asking a great Favour, as I never presume to do it whilst Your Great Friends are in Town, I hope You will forgive me. Sir Brownlow Cust¹ has not only wrote politely but called to Day with his Uncle Peregrin Cust² to thank Your Lordships heartily for the offer to recommend a new Deputy at Grantham, but 2 or 3 of his Friends to whom he had named it, having refused to accept on the present Terms, he thought it more for the honour of the Office to thank Your Lordship for Your kind Intentions than to be liable to be refused

¹ Eldest son of Sir John Cust, Speaker 1761-70. He was M.P. for Ilchester 1768-74, and for Grantham 1774-6 when he went to the House of Lords as Baron Brownlow of Belton.

² Younger brother of Sir John Cust. He was M.P. for Bishop's Castle 1761-8, New Shoreham 1768-74, Ilchester 1774-5, Grantham 1776-80 and 1780 to his death in 1785.

by others, which was certainly right; but I must own I am rather hurt that Barnes,¹ Crabtree and others combine to make it believed the Office is not worth Acceptance, which is really £40 a Year, and if neither Your Lordship nor Lord Sandwich, who have both connections there, should think of any one on Thursday, no doubt but that a Surveyor sent down will find a proper person.

As the new 2 wheeled Carriage is returned from West Wicombe in order to take the Dutch Mail of this Night to Harwich, I presume that Mr. Braithwaites not being with it is owing to Your Lordship's well known Hospitality in detaining him, which is a Kindness he will be sensible of, as I am how much it becomes me to be forever My Lord Your Lordship's most heartily Obedient Servant

Anth. Todd.

John Walcot to Lord Le Despencer.

General Post Office
Dublin the 1st May
1773

My Dear Lord,

I received Your Lordship's Letter of the 17th Ins^t & I am much flattered in the approbation of my Penny Post Office scheme.² A calculation that will admit of a supposition of its being reduced to an eighth in actual produce must certainly appear to be nearly ideal; mine is so, as from the nature of it no certain ground can be obtained on which a calculation could

¹ Robert Barnes, the retiring Deputy Postmaster. According to the Post Office Establishment Book for 1768, his salary was £64 a year.

² Walcot's scheme for a Penny Post Office in Dublin, and his estimate of the staff necessary and the cost, was submitted to the Treasury on 16 August and approved by the Treasury on 30 August 1773 (Treasury Letter Book (1770-8), pp. 58-60; P.R.O. T29/43, p. 161). By his initiative Dublin was thus the first to take advantage of the clause in the Act of 1765 (5 Geo. 3, c. 25, s. 11) which authorized the establishment of a Penny Post Office in any city or town where the Postmaster General thought it desirable. Edinburgh and Manchester followed in 1793 and by 1839 there were more than 2,000. As in London, where a Penny Post had existed since 1680, prepayment of postage was compulsory and letters were delivered to the houses of the persons to whom they were addressed.

be made; for if the number of houses & inhabitants were exactly known it would nevertheless be impossible to know how many Letters would be wrote, or how generally the scheme would be used in the conveyance of them. I do not really suppose the produce will fall to an Eighth altho' I allow the supposition in the calculation, that I may not appear to be too sanguine or self sufficient. My Letter was certainly directed to your Lordship & not to the Post Master General. I say this on all the assurance of memory; but the covers will shew it & if I am wrong it must have been very much against my meaning, as your Lordship will see by my letter that I did not intend the scheme &c for the Board untill I had your Lordship's opinion of it, when I intended to have altered it in any manner you might have thought necessary & then to have sent it officially both to the Board & Lord Clermont; I cannot help adding my happiness that it meets your Lordship's kind approbation without alteration & my assurance that, if adopted, my most diligent attention will be given to the execution. Some few days agoe I received an official letter from Mr Todd relative to the new packets to be established on this station,¹ & from the following part of it (" & the Captains to be appointed will soon receive Commissions instructions etc. from hence") I am rather apprehensive he intends they shall be removed from under the pay & the sub Comptrole of this office; if that is in contemplation I should be most happy if it were not carried into execution untill I am heard on the subject, with respect to the pay for the reasons I formerly troubled you with of my pretention to Agency etc, & with

¹ Cf. letter of 18 December 1767, note 2, for the establishment of a Six Days' Post between England and Ireland. In December 1772 the Post Office decided that this service could be maintained if the number of packet boats between Holyhead and Dublin was reduced from six to five and if the Post Office contracted individually with the commander of each packet boat instead of, as previously, with one contractor for all the boats (Treasury Letter Book (1770-8), pp. 44. 50; P.R.O. T29 42, p. 343). This was the arrangement which Walcot considered detrimental to his hopes of becoming a Packet Boat Agent. His hopes were however realized with his appointment as Agent at Dover in 1774 (cf. letter of 19 August 1774). (There were three Packet Boat Agents—at Dover, for mails to and from France and Flanders. at Falmouth, for mails to and from Lisbon, the West Indies and America, and at Harwich, for mails to and from Holland.)

respect to the sub Comptrole for many reasons material to the service with which I will not take up your Lordship's time on mere surmise ; but one respecting myself I will mention, which is, that it would certainly carry an appearance of slur to me as arising from a conviction of inattention or inability. Thank you My Dear Lord for your news & I should be happy to be able to repay you from hence ; but in that, as in all other matters, your Lordship must allow me to be your Debtor & to subscribe myself most truly

Your Grateful Affectionate Nephew
& Most Obedient Servant
John Walcot.

H. F. Thynne¹ to Lord Le Despencer.

Chippenham
November 28th 1773

My dear Lord,

I always imagined that Mr Lewis² would at last apply to L^d North. It was for that reason I proposed giving him two years more in his Contract. I think if we let L^d North know how inconvenient it is to continue any Contract, & that we let Mr. Lewis go on till the General Election to avoid giving trouble to the Minister, he will find a method of putting him off till that time as well as many others that he is daily oblig'd to pay with excuses, And I think if we were to acquiesce in it at present, after our repeated assurances to Mr Lewis that it should not be continued, We should give him a Victory that would Lower our situation & open a door for other People to go to, when we think their demands unreasonable. Mr Rigby³ & Mr

¹ Henry Frederick Thynne (1735-1826), M.P. for Staffordshire 1757-61, and for Weobley 1761-70, Clerk Comptroller of the Board of Green Cloth 1762-5, Master of the Household 1768-70, Joint Postmaster General January 1771 to September 1789. He took the name Carteret in 1776, on succeeding to some of the Carteret estates under the will of his uncle Earl Granville, and was created Baron Carteret in 1784.

² Edward Lewis of Downton, a London merchant, M.P. for New Radnor 1761-90.

³ Richard Rigby (1722-88), M.P. for Castle Rising 1745-7, Sudbury 1747-54, Tavistock 1754-84, one of the Vice-Treasurers for Ireland 1765, Paymaster of the Forces 1768.

Calvert¹ are coming here to day, & we propose having a great chace with Mr Pentons² hounds tomorrow. I wish you were of the party. I am sure we should find you had as few infirmities, & as capable of partaking of Mirth & Jollity, as either of them

I am My dear Lord

Most faithfully & obediently,

Yrs

H. F. Thynne

Lord North to Lord Despencer.

January 29th 1774

My Lord,

I inclose a memorial to your Lordship upon a subject on which I have wish'd to speak to you, but have not had an opportunity. Mr Lewis is a very honest, worthy man, & an excellent Member of Parliament. Nobody has more zealously & uniformly supported his Majesty's Government, from which he receives no advantage whatsoever except the contract which he holds with the Post Office. Notwithstanding his merit, I would by no means have him rewarded in a manner prejudicial to the Public, but, as he assures me that he will execute the Packet service as cheaply & as well as any other contractor, & will agree to any regulations that may be proposed by your Lordship & Mr Thynne, I hope that it will not be found impossible to oblige him & me, by continuing his contract for seven years, & by saving him from the heavy loss to which an earlier determination of it will make him liable. The Interest which I take in Mr Lewis success has prompted me to trouble your Lordship with this letter. Your goodness will excuse it; I do

¹ Nicolson Calvert (1725-93), a London brewer, High Sheriff of Hertfordshire 1749, M.P. for Tewkesbury 1754-74.

² Henry Penton (d. 1796?), M.P. for Winchester 1761-96. In 1761 he was appointed Court Post, or Carrier of the King's Letters between his Court or Palace of Residence and the first Post Stage or Post Office of the Postmaster General. His father, Henry Penton, M.P. for Tregoney 1734-47 and for Winchester 1747-61, was Court Post from 1741 to 1761. The office was executed by a deputy, who was paid £58 out of the salary of £2 a day. The Commissioners on Fees recommended its abolition (*10th Report on Fees*, 1788, pp. 782, 858). It and the office of Receiver General were the only patent offices in the Post Office.

assure you, that I think the King's affairs in Parliament may suffer, unless such good & steady friends as Mr Lewis have from Government all the countenance & favour that Justice & the Public service will permit. I am, with the truest attachment & respect,

My Lord

your most faithful

humble servant

North.

Copy.

Lord Le Despencer to Lord North.

Han^r Square

Jan^y 30th 1774

My Lord,

I received the honor of your Lordship's Letter yesterday with an inclosed memorial from Mr Lewis to Mr Thynne and myself. I hope your Lordship will not doubt of my cordial disposition (and I am confident Mr Thynne is equally well disposed) to support His Majesty's measures and the Administration, and I certainly well know it is necessary to shew complaisancy and favor to those who are steady to Government. The true state of the case is this, there was a resolution taken some years since (before Mr Thynne was my Colleague and now heartily acquiesced in by him) to put an end to all contracts in the Post Master Gen^{ls} department, finding by experience the impropriety and inexpediency of their continuance, and accordingly the contract for the Dublin Packets is now totally laid aside; the Contractors impose such hard terms on their Captains, which, we have reasons to fear, oblige them to take unwarrantable steps to the detriment of the Service, and we cannot so easily and immediately call each to account, as when they are directly under our own appointment. Mr Lewis makes at least £1200 a year and his allowance to his commanders is so small that they cannot make the appearance as those who have large shares in the Packets and receive all the pay allowed by the establishment, and therefore may be tempted to take steps the Commiss^{rs} of the Customs do not approve. Mr Lewis's contract is now at an end and we told him last winter (for I have not

seen him this) that in consideration of his having got a new vessel (notwithstanding he was assured three years ago of our intention to lay aside contracts) he should continue two years longer upon the same footing, from the expiration of his then contract. I do not know a more civil well bred Gentleman than Mr Lewis, but I protest to your Lordship I should think just the same about this matter if my Brother had been the Contractor. Mr Lewis sent us a Memorial some time since and has been with Mr Thynne and myself respectively many times, but finding we continued to deem the measure right and necessary, now indeed he has taken a method which, considering the personal regard and esteem I have for your L^dship, the situation you are in, and the reasons you give suitable to that situation, all unite to make me only first state my objections and then leave it to your determination and discretion. As Mr Lewis has one new ship suppose he was permitted to continue his Contract for four years instead of two, I own I wish not for seven. I will not trouble your Lordship with full remarks on almost every paragraph in Mr Lewis' memorial, only in general say it is very erroneous. I never understood a contract (except of matrimony) was for life. I feel your Lordship's reasonings and our inclinations correspond, your Lordship must decide, and be assured that I am with great cordiality of attachment and respect

My Lord

Your most faithfull and most

Obed^t humble Servant

Le Despencer

Lord Le Despencer

Copy of a paper I gave Mr Todd.

Feb^y 4. 1774

If Mr. Thynne thinks it necessary to come to an immediate Appointment, which I own I do not, I am content ; if he does not approve of Mr Finlay,¹ who for many reasons I apprehend

¹ Hugh Finlay, Deputy Postmaster at Quebec, who was appointed to succeed Franklin on 25 February 1774. In the *10th Report of the Commissioners on Fees*, 1788, he appears as Deputy Postmaster General for Canada, with a pension of £150 as late Deputy Postmaster General for North America (*10th Report*, 1788, p. 876).

would be the properest person, let us name one, upon condition that he remains constantly in America.

Lord North and the whole Cabinet know very well Dr Franklin was dismissed on Monday last¹ and would have determined concerning Mr Hutchinson's succeeding before this, but if that should be a Measure of Government and there is any Impropriety in that Measure let Administration take the blame to Themselves. I only plead against the Office being made a Sinecure by our Appointment. It would I apprehend be no mortification to Dr Franklin. I stil think the Place should be dropped.

Mem^m to Mr Todd for Mr Thynne.

[February 1774]

Mr Todd is desired to assure Mr Thynne of my cordial regard, good will and good opinion, that I hope I allwayes have behaved, and allwayes shall behave so as to deserve a reciprocal good opinion from Mr Thynne, that it is most disagreeable to me to differ with him so widely about this appointment, but I do and must confess, according to my (what some may call simple) Ideas, that the appointing a Deputy Post Master General for America who is never supposed or intended to set his foot in America seems to me unwarrantable and unjustifiable and would be liable to just obloquy and abuse.

Copy.

Lord Le Despencer to H. F. Thynne.

Han^r Sq^{re}

Feb 6th 1774

Dear Sir,

I yesterday was to wait on you about 4 oclock— the great regard I have for you makes me glad to shew it upon all occasion, altho it be to my own hindrance. I wish the method to satisfy and oblige you which was hinted to me by Mr Todd last Fryday

¹ Franklin was dismissed on 31 January 1774, after examination by a Committee of the Privy Council on 29 January.

night had been thought on before. Mr Jamineau ¹ I am informed is in a very declining state of health, and the appointment he has to provide news Papers to the Clerks etc. is worth to him about five hundred pounds a year. I promise you (if you think proper) upon the Demise of Mr Jamineau, that Mr John Garnier shall succede him. As I never yet broke my word I cannot doubt you giving me credit on this account. I objected to your former proposal certainly not from any disrespect for you or disregard for Mr Garnier but partly from the motive of impropriety, thinking it would have made us liable to just censure; and now I beseech you dear Sir let there not remain the least tincture of suspicion or animosity between us, but let me in all friendship shake you by the hand at the Post Office next Wednesday (or before) the sooner the better. If your intelligence is true and you think it likely that a deputy general to the Post Office in America may be too forcibly recommended, I should wish and advise that with very little additional expence Mr Finlay might be appointed with an injunction to continue to survey the Post houses through that vast country. Such a measure would carry with it propriety as well as Economy, and we should remain unembarrassed.

I am truly Dear Sir Your very faithfull and affect^{te} humble servant
Le Despencer

¹ Isaac Jamineau (d. c. 1792), appointed in 1742 to supply the Post Office and the Clerks of the Road with newspapers. For this service he received from the Clerks of the Roads, who had the privilege of franking newspapers, three halfpence a dozen newspapers and one newspaper for every twenty-five supplied. The office was executed by a deputy to whom Jamineau paid £200 a year. The profits of the Clerks of the Roads, and therefore of Jamineau, were considerably reduced by the Act of 1764 (4 Geo. 3, c. 24), which extended the privilege of franking newspapers to members of both Houses of Parliament. The Post Office Memorial of 17 November 1772 drew the attention of the Treasury to the very large orders of members of parliament for newspapers, and asked that their orders might be limited as to give some relief to the Clerks of the Roads, who paid out of their profits certain allowances to other officers in the Inland Department, and this request was repeated on 31 January 1781, but without effect (Treasury Letter Book (1770-8), p. 32; (1778-83), pp. 93-6). The Commissioners on Fees dealt with the problem by recommending that the Clerks of the Roads should lose their privilege of franking newspapers and should be paid entirely by salary and that Jamineau's post should be abolished and an annuity paid to him during his life (*10th Report on Fees*, 1788, pp. 787, 791).

John Walcot to Lord Le Despencer.

Dublin the 19th of Aug
1774.

I am indebted, My Dear Lord, for your two very kind letters of the 8th & the 13th ; but I cannot answer in print, as I have not yet learnt the business ; & if I had taken a few lessons I should be afraid to attempt it in answer to so great a Master. Mr Todd wrote me on the 9th " that Mr Thynne appeared to approve the security from Mr Lees¹ only it did not appear necessary to give his friend's name to be filled up untill the death of Barham,² when the respective Salaries & Annuity take place, or if it was necessary to fill up the name directly that then Mr Thynne should nominate another life if the one first nominated should die before Mr Barham". I mentioned the foregoing proposal to Mr Lees, who has signified his consent to it, as being reasonable that the risk of the life named & the Annuity should commence at one & the same time, & therefore Mr Thynne will now nominate without delay. The Security for £350 to Mr Thynne's friend³ is to be directly from Mr Lees, & the draft for the security of it is drawn accordingly, for though in the Memorandum left with Mr Todd it is mentioned that the whole security should be given from Mr Lees to me & that I should grant a part to Mr Thynne's friend, yet on mature consideration I thought it most advisable for me, & equal to Mr Thynne's friend, to make the security for the £350 directly from Mr Lees himself, & thereby to exempt myself entirely from any future concern between them, in any case or on any

¹ John Lees, Secretary to the Post Office in Dublin 1774-81, Secretary at War in Ireland 1781-4, Secretary to the Irish Post Office in August 1784 on its separation from the English Post Office.

² Edmund Barham, Agent for the Packet Boats and Deputy Postmaster at Dover until 1774, when he retired, because of ill-health, after some fifty years' service in the Post Office. He died in 1787, aged about 80.

³ Peregrine Treves. The Committee appointed in 1787 " to enquire into certain Abuses in the Post Office " examined Treves and stated that he " had never performed any Public Service in the Post Office, or in any other Public Department, to entitle him to any Public Reward " (*Commons' Journals*, vol. xlii, p. 800, 23 May 1787). A Peregrine Treves was a junior Clerk in the Secretary's Office in 1778.

account whatsoever.¹ I apprehend by your Lordship's letter that you have not seen the draft of the security I sent as it is drawn, as I have mentioned, without naming me & consequently no dismissal of Mr Lees or any other matter can make me liable to pay the Annuity; for the agreement left with Mr Todd is merely a Memorandum untill the Securities &c are compleated and it is to be given up when the appointment take place & the Securities are given. Mr Lees gives me a separate security for £150 per Annum, making the £500 specified in the Agreement. I flatter myself the Papers & letters lately sent by me on this Subject to Mr Todd, & which your Lordship will of course see, will have fully explained this matter, so that no further trouble will arise to your Lordship on it; for indeed I am very sorry thus to tease you incessantly. I was with Lord Harcourt in the country Monday & Tuesday; His Excellency desired his best compliments when I wrote. Be assured, My Dear Lord, that I am truly sensible of your kind attention to my Interest in the business & that I am, with the utmost truth, My Dear Lord,

Your Lordships Affect^{te} & Obliged Nephew
& Faithful Servant
John Walcot.

I did not receive any letter from Mr Todd of the 13th on the foregoing subject as your Lordship expected I should do.

¹ Walcot was not successful in this aim, for it seems that he as well as Lees gave security for the payment of the annuity to Treves (Report of 1787 Committee, *Commons' Journals*, vol. xlii, p. 800). The three agreements finally made were: Walcot to succeed Barham and to pay him £800 a year during his lifetime; Lees to succeed Walcot and to pay him £750 a year while Barham lived and, after Barham's death, £150 a year if Lees' income proved to be more than £1,000 a year, or, if it proved to be less than £1,000 a year, half of the excess over £800; Lees to pay Treves, after Barham's death, £350 during the joint lives of Lees and Treves and for as long as Lees remained Secretary. The first and second of these agreements were concluded in November 1774 "by the order of the Postmaster General"; the third was made in August 1774. In 1788, when the Commissioners on Fees investigated the agreements, Treves had not received any payment from Lees, as Barham had only just died (*10th Report on Fees*, 1788, pp. 773, 781, 855), but the other payments had been made regularly. None of the agreements was held to be invalidated because of Lees' change of post in 1781 and 1784.

John Walcot to Lord Le Despencer.

Dublin 1st of Sept^r 1774

My Dear Sir,

I am truly sorry to have heard from Mr Todd that you have been very ill with rheumatism, & I shall still continue so as I have not heard of your recovery. I enclose the form of an Affidavit that your Lordship must make to entitle you to the Tontine Dividend, & it must be witnessed by two Witnesses. The signification must likewise be signed by your Lordship, & then the Dividend will be regularly paid half yearly at Mess^{rs} Brown & Collinsons Bankers in Lombard Street. The business could not be finished by Midsummer last, when half a year's dividend was due, so that one year's Interest will be to be paid at Xmas next. I sent Mr Todd last night the security from Mr Lees to Mr Treves, Mr Thynne's friend; but I did not bind myself, or will I do it, as I explained in my last letter to your Lordship more upon it; for if Mr Thynne concludes it as sent over it is very well, & if not I will not presume to break further in upon your Friendship by endless application. I am glad to have heard Mrs Barry¹ thrives & is well. My wife is not well though not worse than she most frequently is; but begs to join me in her best compliments to your Lordship & Mrs Barry. Lord Clermont leaves this place in a day or two for England. I will send in a post or two an Account Current of the Tontine business.

I am most Truly & Affectionately

My Dear Lord

Your Lordship's Faithful Nephew

& obedient Servant

John Walcot.

Your Lordship will return me the Affidavit as soon as you conveniently can.

¹ Mrs. Barry "presided over" Despencer's household from c. 1771 until his death in 1781. She died in 1795. (*A Vindication of Mrs. Lee's Conduct towards the Gordons, Written by herself* (London, 1807), *passim*.)

John Walcot to Lord Despencer.

Dublin the 16 Sept 1774

My Dear Lord,

I received a letter from Mr Todd of the 9th Instant, after his return from Wycomb, & I was extremely happy to learn by it that he left your Lordships in good spirits. I have not wrote on the progress of the Dover negociation as I was in daily hope of settling it; but Mr Todd has sent over from Mr Thynne a Joint Bond for Mr Lees and me to sign, & a Judgement against me for Three Thousand Pounds as a security to Mr Treves for his Annuity. I have wrote to Mr Todd that the having a Judgement recorded against me seems to me to be too severe; though I should be very happy to settle to Mr Thynnes' satisfaction; but that as this matter can be adjusted in one day if I was on the spot I request leave to come over for that purpose; & I will bring over all the papers &c. I shall by this means be able to lay the whole that has passed, since I was last in England, fully before your Lordship; & though I am anxious to a great degree to return to a settlement in England, yet I would not do it by any means your Lordship shall think wrong. By being on the spot I shall be able to find out the true value of Dover,¹ which Lord Clermont told me Mr Barham, since my return to Ireland, confessed to Mr Thynne to be better than £1100 a year; but Mr Todd has not given me any hint of it, & the value of Dover is a great circumstance to determine how far I ought to go in the security. If I shall not be able to close & settle this business I will return directly & I shall ever think myself equally indebted to your affectionate assistance towards my wishes. Your Lordship may be assured I would not ask to come to settle this business if any the smallest detriment to this office could attend my absence, or if a two months correspondence with Mr Todd, without effect, had not convinced me of the necessity of it. I was with Lord Harcourt in the country two days agoe & he charged me to make his best compliments to your

¹ In 1787 Walcot received, as Agent to the Postmaster General at Dover and Deputy Postmaster at Dover, a salary of £150, allowances of £210 and emoluments of £941 18s. (*10th Report on Fees*, 1788, pp. 854-5).

Lordship. My wife begs to join me in compliments to your Lordships & Mrs Barry. I cannot help thinking that the discovery of the value of Dover makes Mr Thynne desirous to break off the negotiation; but as I hope so soon to lay the whole before your Lordship & to finish for ever the subject I will not add on it more now,

I am ever My Dear Lord
Your Grateful & Affectionate nephew
& Servant
John Walcot.

John Walcot to Lord Le Despencer.

Dunstable
27th Oct 1774

My Dear Lord,

I waited untill last night for Mr Barham; but as he was not then come, & it was not certain when he would (though hourly expected) I did not think myself at liberty to stay longer, lest the business at Dublin might suffer. I am sorry I could not call at Wycomb on my return; but as I look on my business as absolutely concluded I hope now to have many opportunities of doing myself that very sincere pleasure. I do not at present see that I may not be able to transact some business at Dover as a Merchant or Banker, or perhaps both; but untill I find whether it will clash with Minet & Factor, the rich & powerful opponents of the Packets, I have not mentioned a syllable of this scheme, & perhaps I may find it my Interest not to pursue it; though from my personal acquaintance with most of the first Bankers I think I shall be able to effect it after I have been a short time there; I am well aware Many Irons at once in the fire will not all heat, & I may therefore think more on this subject. I saw Mr Goostrey yesterday & he was come directly from Bath, where, he told me, Mr Whitehead¹ was still very ill though better than he had been; but I found he thought him still dangerously so, & I am sorry for it. I believe Mr Todd will

¹ Paul Whitehead, the poet (*b.* 1710), who died in December 1774. Despencer was his friend and patron (*cf.* *Annual Register*, 1775, p. 54, for his obituary notice).

have the appointments ready by the next Board day. My wife always begs to have the honour in joining me in best compliments, & she has lamented much that I could not allow her time to see Mrs Barry.

I am My Dear Lord

Your truly Obliged & Faithful Nephew

& Servant

John Walcot.

Lord North to Lord Le Despencer.

Wednesday morn

Jan 25[1775]

My Dear Lord,

I thank your Lordship extremely for your kindness in granting me one half of Lord Pembroke's¹ request, & am not much less obliged to you as an Officer of the Revenue for refusing me the other half, as you do it for reasons which I can not but approve. As soon as ever the present American hurry is abated, I hope to see your Lordship and to settle the long depending business of the delivery of the country letters.² In the mean while, your

¹ Henry Herbert (1734-94), 10th Earl of Pembroke, Lord Lieutenant of Wiltshire 1761-80.

² Country letters were defined by the Post Office as "all Letters from any Part to any Part of this Kingdom passing through London" (Treasury Letter Book (1760-71), p. 24). There was no statutory provision for delivery of country letters to the houses of the persons to whom they were addressed (cf. letter of 29 March 1769, note 4, for delivery of letters in London), but certain Deputy Postmasters had undertaken delivery on their own initiative, and the result of an action brought against the Deputy Postmaster of Sandwich in June 1772 showed that any Deputy who could prove some precedent for delivery would be upheld by the Courts (Treasury Letter Book (1770-8), pp. 15-16). In the Memorial of 17 November 1772 to the Treasury the Postmasters General requested that Parliament be asked to clarify the position by legislation defining the limits of delivery: they pointed out that the cost of providing delivery in all parts of the country would be enormous, and that in many cases such a delivery would inevitably be slower than the existing arrangements for collection of letters from local Post Offices (Treasury Letter Book (1770-8), pp. 28-9). In August 1773 a case of delivery at Ipswich, with the decision of the Court of Common Pleas and the Opinion of the Attorney General, was reported to the Treasury (ibid. p. 54), and in November 1773 the Treasury was again asked to act upon the proposals in the Memorial of 17 November 1772 (ibid. p. 62). But nothing was done.

Lordship will be so good as to direct a Bill to be prepared, & [a] short state of all the proceedings in the business to be made out for your humble servant. I am particularly desirous of having a clear account of the causes that have been tried upon this question & the grounds of the several decisions which have been made in each of them.¹

Although I have always found it very inconvenient to promise any place before it is vacant, yet, as I imagine that it will be agreeable to your Lordship to know something certain concerning Mr Walcot, I take the liberty of informing your Lordship that he shall be appointed a Commissioner of the Lottery upon the second vacancy that shall happen in the Commission from this time.² The first I am obliged to reserve for a gentleman who has been upon my List these four years & upwards, & by engaging the second to Mr Walcot I assure your Lordship that I prefer to a very considerable number of prior applications. I have the honour to be, with the greatest respect,

My dear Lord
Your most faithful
humble servant
North.

¹ As a result of North's request a meeting was held in March 1775 between the Postmasters General and the Treasury Board, and on 30 March the Post Office sent to the Treasury information about the number of Post Towns—more than 440—and an estimate of the cost of providing delivery at all of them, saying that it was impossible to estimate the cost of a "Universal Delivery" and repeating the arguments against one (Treasury Letter Book (1770-8), p. 117). In November 1775 a case of delivery at Hungerford was reported to the Treasury, with the "private opinion" of the Attorney General, Thurlow, that "the (Post) Office was not bound to deliver Letters beyond the Stage or Post House. But if the Construction of the Act (of 1711) is once carried beyond that, I know of no Construction which will . . . entitle them to refuse carrying Letters to every Hole and Corner of the Country" (Treasury Letter Book (1770-8), pp. 90-99). But in spite of these and other Post Office representations, by the end of 1781 neither the problem of the delivery of country letters nor the other problems raised in the Memorial of 17 November 1772 (of which the most important were franking by members of parliament, the limitation of their orders for newspapers, the exemption of mails from the payment of tolls, a change in the method of taxing letters) had been referred to parliament.

² None of the Walcots examined by the Commissioners on Fees in 1788 was a Lottery Commissioner.

THE "RELATIVISM" OF PRODICUS

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THE belief that Prodicus held a relativist position in ethics rests on the statements put into his mouth in the Pseudo-Platonic *Eryxias*, 397 c-399 a. There Socrates reports on argument which had taken place recently between Prodicus and a *μειράκιον* in the gymnasium of the Lyceum. The argument is cut short when the *γυμνασίαρχος* tells Prodicus to leave on the ground that his doctrines are bad for the young men. The dialogue as a whole contains at least one case which seems to show consciousness of Stoic arguments,¹ and this gives a *terminus post quem* for its composition. But the position ascribed to Prodicus may none the less be used as evidence for Prodicus' own teaching,² deriving either from his own writings, or more probably from a dialogue of Aeschines, who is known to have

¹ 404 c 4-405 a 1; cf. Sen. Ep. 87, 22 and Eichholz, "The Pseudo-Platonic Dialogue *Eryxias*" in *C.Q.*, vol. xxix (1935), pp. 142-4.

² The reference to the *γυμνασίαρχος* in 399 a is commonly taken to be a reference to the state official of that name who some time after 337 B.C. replaced the *γυμνασίαρχος* who performed the liturgy of the *γυμνασίαρχια*. It is argued that the latter would not possess the power of maintaining public order, while the state magistrate had considerable disciplinary powers. Consequently the reference to the *γυμνασίαρχος* is cited as evidence for the date of composition of the *Eryxias* as a whole (cf. O. Schöhl, *De Eryxia qui fertur Platonis*, Göttingen (1901), pp. 42-3; Souilhé, *Platon* (Budé), vol. xiii, part 3, p. 88, Eichholz, op. cit. pp. 141-2). As the mention of the *γυμνασίαρχος* occurs in the report of the argument between Prodicus and the *μειράκιον*, Eichholz is led to conjecture that this argument reflects some late fourth or early third century controversy, wrongly put in a fifth century setting, and he finds a similarity which I cannot see between 399 a 5-9 and an argument used by the Megarian Alexinus against Zeno reported by Sextus Ad Math IX. 108. But the term *γυμνασίαρχος* in the *Eryxias* means neither magistrate nor liturgist, but simply the superintendent of the gymnasium in which the discussion had taken place. This was seen by Liddell and Scott, sv. *γυμνασίαρχος*. Consequently the term cannot be made the basis for inferences either as to the date of composition of the *Eryxias* or as to the date of the supposed argument with Prodicus.

introduced Prodicus into his work.¹ It is not, however, my purpose in what follows to discuss the question whether Prodicus actually held the doctrine ascribed to him in the *Eryxias*, but simply to discuss the nature and meaning of the doctrine itself, which does not seem always to have been properly understood.

As reported by Socrates (397 e 3-12), the *μειράκιον* asked Prodicus in what way he considered being rich was good and in what way he considered it to be bad. Prodicus replied that it was good for the *καλοὶ κάγαθοί* and for those who know the situations in which (*ὅπου*) money should be used, and that it was bad for those who are *μοχθηροί* and who lack knowledge. This principle applies not only to being rich but to all other cases: according to the nature of those who use them, such must be for them the things they use—*ὅποιοι γὰρ ἂν τινες ὦσιν οἱ χρώμενοι, τοιαῦτα καὶ τὰ πράγματα αὐτοῖς ἀνάγκη εἶναι*. Up to this point what Prodicus is saying does not seem difficult to understand: in any particular case, men are divisible into two groups, the good who know how to use things and the bad who do not. The goodness or otherwise of a thing such as money necessarily varies according to the knowledge of the user. But immediately Prodicus goes on to quote with approval the line from Archilochus: *καὶ φρονεῦσι τοῖ' ὁκοίοις ἐγκυρέωσιν ἔργμασιν*. The relation of this to the previous statements is not apparent at first sight. Yet the appeal to poetry is a well-known sophistic procedure² and it is here presumably meant quite seriously. We have three lines of the original poem (fr. 68 Diehl):

*τοῖος ἀνθρώποισι θυμός, Γλαῦκε, Λεπτίνεω παί,
γίγνεται θνητοῖς' ὁκοίην Ζεὺς ἐφ' ἡμέρην ἄγῃ,
καὶ φρονεῦσι τοῖ', ὁκοίοις ἐγκυρέωσιν ἔργμασιν.*

¹ Athen. V 220 b = Aeschines fr. 34 Dittmar = Diels — Kranz⁶ 84 A 4 b. Cf. Dittmar, *Aischines von Sphettos*, 198-9. A dialogue *Eryxias* is actually attributed to Aeschines by the Suda, s.v. *Αἰσχίνης*. It cannot be the present dialogue with its Stoic references, and is probably a mistake, cf. Schroll 6. Nestle (Hermes, vol. lxxi (1936), pp. 157 ff. = *Griechische Studien*, pp. 412 ff.) has adduced passages from Xenophon's *Oeconomicus* which seem to show conclusively that the author of the *Eryxias* is using the same material, and it does not seem likely that the author of the *Eryxias* got it from the *Oeconomicus*.

² Nestle, *Vom Mythos zum Logos*,² p. 357 n. 39.

This seems clearly inspired by Homer, *Odyssey* XVIII 130-7, and Archilochus is saying that there is no constancy in men's life or thoughts—we are as it were but echoes of our surroundings.¹ But the third line was given a slightly different twist by Heraclitus fr. 17: οὐ γὰρ φρονέουσι τοιαῦτα πολλοί, ὁκόσοι ἐγκυρεῦσιν, οὐδὲ μαθόντες γινώσκουσι, ἔωντοῖσι δὲ δοκέουσιν.² This shows that Heraclitus read into the line of Archilochus the meaning: men's thoughts reflect accurately the reality which confronts them. It is this which Heraclitus is concerned to deny. Prodicus has said that the goodness of things varies according to the knowledge of the user. He is not likely then to have gone on to say that there is no constancy in men's knowledge, since this would come close to denying the existence of such knowledge and he would then be destroying the criterion which he has just set up for distinguishing between the goodness and badness of things. Accordingly it is more probably in the Heraclitean sense that he understood the line which he quotes from Archilochus. In this case he will be maintaining (1) the goodness of things is relative to the knowledge of the user about how to use them, (2) this knowledge is knowledge of something which has real existence in the situation. It is possible to devise other conceivable meanings for the quotation from Archilochus which would be intelligible taken alongside Prodicus' first contention,³ but in the light of the evidence from Heraclitus I take it provisionally that Prodicus is using the line in the same way as Heraclitus did.

To the position of Prodicus, whatever its exact nature may be, the *μειράκιον* applies the following argument (398 a 1 -b 2). "If someone were to make me wise in the wisdom in which good men are wise, then necessarily at the same time he would make the other things good for me, though he has not concerned himself with those things themselves at all, but simply because

¹ Cf. H. Fränkel, *Dichtung und Philosophie des frühen Griechentums*, pp. 185, 470 n. 27. Possibly the much discussed Parmenides fr. 16 also shows consciousness of Archilochus.

² Many would make this accord more closely with Archilochus by bracketing πολλοί and altering ὁκόσοι to ὁκόοις.

³ E.g. "the wise man's knowledge is adapted to the various situations in which he finds himself and so he knows how to use things rightly".

he has made me wise instead of ignorant. Just as, if someone were to make me this minute a grammarian, he would necessarily make other things also grammatical for me, and if he made me a musician he would make other things musical for me, and just as¹ when he makes me good he has necessarily also made things good for me." However, says Socrates, Prodicus did not accept the last part but he did agree to the previous part. The problem here is to determine what it is that Prodicus accepts and what it is that he refuses to accept, in other words, what is the last part (*ταῦτα*) and what is the earlier part (*ἐκείνα*). It seems commonly to have been supposed that the part that Prodicus refuses to accept is the case of the man who makes me a grammarian or a musician—this is the last part, while he accepts the statement that if someone makes me wise he makes things good for me and this is the earlier part. This is presumably the basis of the view of Gomperz when he speaks² of "the conception of objects indifferent in themselves, on which value was impressed only by the right use to which they were put if the dictates of reason were obeyed". It is explained in this way by Dupréel: "Il y a des choses caractérisées par des propriétés objectives et fixes comme le langage et les sons musicaux, mais tel n'est pas le cas pour le bon et le mauvais; ces choses-ci dépendent toutes du rapport avec un sujet."³ But there are several objections to this view. The thing which Prodicus rejects should be the last thing mentioned in the passage—this is, in fact, not the case of the grammarian and the musician, but the statement "when he makes me good he has necessarily also made things good for me". Apart from the sense, it is to this that the *ταῦτα* most naturally refers.⁴ Secondly, it is clear that the *μενράκιον* is bringing against Prodicus an argument which he hopes will upset the position he has maintained earlier. *οὐ μέντοι* in 398 b 1-2 shows that this attempt

¹ ὥσπερ. It seems to me clear that this is a mistake for οὕτως. The meaning will then be "Just as, if someone were to make me this minute a grammarian, he would also make other things grammatical for me, and if he made me a musician he would make other things musical, so when he makes me good, he has necessarily made things also good for me".

² *Greek Thinkers* (Eng. trans.), vol. i, p. 429; cf. Zeller *Ph. d. Gr.* I⁶, 1392.

³ Dupréel, *Les sophistes*, p. 169.

⁴ So apparently Souilhé.

failed because Prodicus did not accept the premise offered him from which a refutation was to proceed, and consequently the *μειράκιον* has to make a fresh start which he does at 398 b 3. Prodicus, leaving aside the quotation from Archilochus, had maintained that the goodness of things varies with the knowledge of the user about how to use them. The *μειράκιον* is trying to secure from Prodicus the admission that it is a human function to make things good or bad, and at the second attempt he does secure this admission. Yet on the usual view he has already secured it at the first attempt and there was no reason for the fresh start at 398 b 3. Thirdly, if the object of the *μειράκιον* had been to secure the admission from Prodicus that the musician makes things musical when he makes a man a musician, the admission would not as far as can be seen have helped to refute Prodicus' position in ethics.

Accordingly the alternative possibility should be preferred. What Prodicus is prepared to admit is that the man who makes another musical does make things musical for that man. What he is not prepared to admit is that a man who makes another man wise makes things good which were not previously good. This is perfectly intelligible. It is known from Plato's *Protagoras*¹ that Prodicus makes a sharp distinction between "being" and "becoming". He is maintaining that things such as wealth *are* good for those who know how to use them. He denies that such things *become* good for those who know how to use them when they acquire that knowledge. He would presumably say that they are always good for those who know how to use them so that there can be no question of their becoming good or being made good. The reference to the *γραμματικός* should be understood in the light of Prodicus' insistence on *ονομάτων ὀρθότης*. The principle behind his elaborate discussions of apparent synonyms was well stated by Alexander Aphrodisias: *ἐπειρᾶτο ἐκάστῳ τῶν ὀνομάτων τούτων ἰδίον τι σημαινόμενον ὑποτάσσειν*.² In doing this he was not only doing something which had not been done before, but it was clear to his contemporaries and no doubt also to himself that he was changing

¹ 340 b = Diels — Kranz⁶, 84 A 14.

² Diels — Kranz⁶, 84 A 19.

and departing from the ordinary usage of words¹ in making the distinctions which he did. Accordingly Prodicus himself in making a man *γραμματικός* would also be making the *πράγματα γραμματικά* in a sense in which they had not been so before the man received the instruction from Prodicus. It is highly probable that Prodicus applied his distinctions also to musical terms, since we know he was a close friend of Damon, and Socrates attributes to Damon as well as Prodicus the art of making distinctions in terms.² But Prodicus is not prepared to extend to terms such as good and bad the possibility of change at the hands of an educator. In this case knowledge is firmly rooted in real facts,³ and it was to illustrate this that Prodicus cited the line of Archilochus.

Defeated in his first attempt, the *μειράκιον* tries again (398 b 3-c 3) and offers Prodicus the choice between two statements. (1) Just as the making of a house is the result of human activity, so human activity makes things good. (2) According as things are good or bad to begin with, so they necessarily continue good or bad. Socrates then says that Prodicus suspected where the argument was going to end,⁴ and, in order to avoid a public defeat, replied that it was a human activity (*ἔργον ἀνθρώπου*). Here it seems clear that Prodicus hoped to avoid defeat by giving the answer which he did. Presumably he saw that if he accepted the other alternative, that things continue

¹ Cf. Plato, *Prot.* 341 c - d ; 358 a - b ; *Euthydemus*, 277 e ff. = Diels — Kranz⁵, 84 A 14 ; 84 A 16. This does not exclude the possibility that for Prodicus the *ὀνομάτων ὀρθότης* when achieved rested on *φύσις*, cf. Chiapelli, *Archiv f. Ges. d. Philos.*, vol. iii (1890), p. 244. Untersteiner, *I Sofisti*, p. 260 n. 42.

² Plato, *Laches*, 197d = Diels — Kranz⁶ 84 A 17.

³ Cf. Momigliano, "Prodicus da Ceo e le dottrine sul linguaggio da Democrito ai Cinici", in *Atti della R. Acc. delle Scienze di Torino*, vol. lxxv (1929-30), pp. 101-3.

⁴ The words *σφόδρα πανούργως* seem to have all the marks of an intrusive gloss and I suggest accordingly that they should be excluded from the text. On this view they were inserted by a commentator who wished to specify the way in which the argument was likely to end. But if this is not so, and the words are an integral part of the text, they seem to go most naturally with the following *ἔφη ἀνθρώπου ἔργον εἶναι*. They were so taken, e.g. by Jowett, and the meaning might then be that Prodicus' answer was a "clever" or "sophistic" answer rather than the one which he ought to have given in the light of his earlier thesis.

good or bad according as they are so to begin with, he would have difficulty in maintaining his original position that the same thing may be good for persons of one class and bad for persons of another class. Presented with a disjunction he chooses the other alternative. But the way in which Socrates describes his choice suggests strongly that he did so only because of the difficulty in which he found himself, i.e. that it is not what he would otherwise have said and does not properly represent his true position.¹ On the view here taken it is in fact the position which he had refused to accept a moment ago, and it may seem surprising that he does accept it so easily on the present occasion. But Socrates' account of the argument is a very concise summary, and if there lies behind it a more extended argument in dialogue form the reasons would probably be much clearer to us than they are.

Whatever the means used, the *μειράκιον* has secured the admission which he wanted. Prodicus has now admitted that good and bad things are in exactly the same position as things grammatical or musical. This leads to the last stage in the attack of the *μειράκιον* (398 c 4-d 8). The steps in the argument are rather compressed, but seem to be as follows. Prodicus naturally holds to the general position that virtue is something which is taught. In grammar, music or similar arts it is pointless to pray to the gods for proficiency—this is acquired either from a teacher or by one's effort in learning. (Again it would be pointless to pray to the gods for music and grammar—when we become musical things become musical for us which were not previously so. The teacher who makes us musical makes things musical for us without any separate activity on his part, cf. 398 a 4.) So likewise in the case of good and bad things. When we pray to the gods for success and for good things for ourselves we are really praying to be made good ourselves, since if someone makes us good he thereby makes things good for us which were not previously good. (But it is just as foolish to pray to the gods to make us good as it is to pray to them to make us musical. In each case this must be learned from a

¹ The implication seems to be that if he had been in private he would have denied that it was *ἀνθρώπου ἔργον*.

teacher or by one's own effort in learning.) Socrates himself then pointed out to Prodicus that in praying for good things to the gods he seemed to be praying for something which they could not give (398 d 8-e 10).

So Prodicus seemed to be talking nonsense (397 d 1-2) to those who were listening. He was preparing to defend himself when he was stopped by the *γυμνασιάρχος*. Even with the admissions exacted from Prodicus, the final argument of the *μειράκιον* is full of assumptions open to attack. But it is the position of Prodicus without the admission forced from him, with which I am here concerned. He has two contentions: (1) the goodness of things varies according to the knowledge of the users as to how to use them. (2) Men's knowledge is knowledge of things really existent. This second proposition is put in the quite general form found in Archilochus. In what follows it appears to be pertinent to the discussion in two different ways: (a) knowledge of how to use things rests on facts independent of the knower—there is a right way, one right way to use wealth;¹ (b) the goodness of a thing used rightly is independent of a person's knowledge about the right way to use it—when someone learns the right way to use a thing he does not *make* the good thing—it was always good if rightly used.

¹ Cf. Momigliano, *op. cit.* p. 102.

A DRAFT OF TEN LINES FROM SWIFT'S POEM TO JOHN GAY

By GEORGE MAYHEW, M.A., PH.D. (HARVARD)

RECENTLY, while examining in another connection Rylands English MS. 659, in Item 9, page 3 I came across a draft in the hand of Jonathan Swift of ten lines from his poem of 1731 addressed to John Gay in his supposed capacity of treasurer to the Duke of Queensberry. The poem has most recently been edited by Sir Harold Williams in his *Poems of Jonathan Swift* (1937).¹ Sir Harold followed the untitled text of Faulkner's Dublin edition of 1735 (*Works*, ii, 417-25) and used the title appearing in Faulkner's table of contents: "*To Mr. Gay on his being Steward to the Duke of Queensberry.*" Faulkner's prefatory note explained that Swift began the poem upon the mistaken information that Gay had been appointed treasurer to the Duke:

The Author having been told by an intimate Friend, that the Duke of Queensberry had employed Mr. Gay to inspect the Accounts and Management of his Grace's Receivers and Stewards (which, however, proved afterwards to be a Mistake) writ to Mr. Gay the following Poem.

Swift himself explained the genesis of the poem in a letter of 13 March 1730-1, and there he quoted verses that are now lines 57-64 of the published version:

Mr. Pope in all his letters complains he has no acquaintance with you and is utterly ignorant of your affairs. Your situation is an odd one. The Duchess is your treasurer, and Mr. Pope tells me you are the Duke's; and I had gone a good way in some verses on that occasion, prescribing lessons to direct your conduct in a negative way, not to do so and so, etc., like other treasurers; how to deal with servants, tenants, or neighbouring squires, which I take to be courtiers, parliaments, and princes in alliance, and so the parallel goes on, but grew too long to please me. I will copy some lines:

Let some reward to merit be allowed,
Nor with your kindred half the palace crowd;
Nor think yourself secure in doing wrong,
By telling noses with a party strong.

¹ Oxford Press, ii, 530-6. Hereafter referred to as *Poems*.

Be rich, but of your wealth make no parade,
 At least before your master's debts are paid ;
 Nor in a palace, built with charge immense,
 Presume to treat him at his own expense.

Then I prove that poets are the fittest persons to be treasurers and managers to great persons, from their virtue and contempt of money, etc.¹

At some later time Swift rearranged the order of the poem and developed it into a lengthy political attack " upon Walpole's stewardship of the nation's affairs ", as Sir Harold Williams has observed (*Poems*, ii. 531). The passage Swift quoted in his letter, and the lines which immediately followed it, however, contain the kernel of the original poem to Gay, as Swift first conceived it, when he was misinformed about his friend's supposed stewardship. The ten lines with which I am concerned were finally represented by the following portion of the poem (ll. 61-70) as it has been printed (*Works*, ii. 420-1 ; *Poems*, ii. 533) :

61. Be rich ; but of your Wealth make no Parade ;
 At least, *before your Master's Debts are paid.*
 Nor, *in a Palace built with Charge immense,*
Presume to treat him at his own Expence.
65. Each Farmer in the Neighbourhood can count
 To what your lawful Perquisites amount.
 The Tenants poor, the Hardness of the Times,
 Are ill Excuses for a Servant's Crimes :
 With Int'rest, and a *Praemium* paid beside,
70. The Master's pressing Wants must be supply'd ;

The verse paragraph is concluded by three additional couplets (ll. 71-6) aimed directly at Walpole and added most likely at the time when Swift rewrote the poem as a political attack.

Item 9, page 3 of the Rylands MS. contains two versions of the ten lines above : the first is probably a rough preliminary draft representing the first stage of composition ; immediately below it is another, more polished version, representing the second stage of composition. The two opening couplets of the published version also appeared in the lines Swift quoted in his letter to Gay. They also appear as they were first conceived on

¹ F. Elrington Ball, ed., *The Correspondence of Jonathan Swift, D.D.*, 6 vols., 1910-14, iv. 202-3.

this page of manuscript from the Rylands Library, which therefore must have been written previous to 13 March 1730-1. The page is headed "Gay Maitre d'hotel", possibly Swift's tentative title when he first conceived the poem; the two stages of work are crossed with two "X"s; one couplet has been deleted and rewritten, and there is some minor cancellation and interlining. In spite of this the page is easily read, being written in a rapid careless hand at the start, but, lower down, with more care.

Rylands English MS. 659, Item 9, page 3.

1. Gay Maitre d'hotel

Nor in a palace built with charge immense.
Regale your Master at his own expense.

Every one can count

5. To what yr lawfull perquisites amount

Unwisely of y^r wealth you make parade
When half his Grace's debts are left unpaid.

To supply some urgent pressing want with present
Sum, with treble interest & praeium

10. Be rich but of y^r Wealth make no parade
At least before yr Mas^{rs} debts are paid
[Each farmer in your Neighbourhood can count]
[To what your fees and perquisites amount]
Nor in a Palace built with charge immense

15. Regale your Mas^r at his own expence.
Each farmer in the Neighbourhood can count
To what y^r lawfull perquisites amount
The tenants poor, the hardness of the times
Are stale excuses to conceal y^r crimes.¹

The two versions here presented are the earliest of rough drafts and show the start of the slow evolution of these lines

¹ L. 2: "pla" deleted before "palace"; "with" written twice. Ll. 12-13: Cancelled; "Legal" "honest" interlined. L. 14: Word heavily cancelled at start, "Nor in" written above the line.

towards their finished form. By comparing the first half of the page (ll. 2-9) with its second half (ll. 10-19), and the latter with the published version of this portion of the poem (ll. 61-70) it is possible to deduce something about Swift's method of composing decasyllabic couplets. He began by jotting down a series of rough couplets, each one set off by a dash, which captured, in a haphazard way, the separate notions that would eventually make up the verse paragraph toward which he was working. In so doing Swift paid little attention to the niceties of precise diction, meter, length of line, nor was he too much concerned about the logical relationship of one couplet to another. The main thing appears to have been to get down in any shape his thoughts as they occurred to him. For instance, five couplets are roughed out and marked off in the upper half of the page. Four of them reappear in the second half, but now they are rearranged and are more carefully controlled as to line-length, meter, and diction. A new final couplet has been added to replace the one rejected from the upper part of the page. Similar changes appear when the second half of the page is compared with the final version.

What Swift appears to try for first of all is to establish the general thought and exact rhyme of each couplet. Possibly he had already formed in his mind the first couplet he jotted down (ll. 2-3). He experienced some difficulty in writing it out, since he began to write *palace* as *pla* and he repeated the word *with* unwittingly. But his difficulties may come as much from an impatience to get the line down as from any trouble about its thought or wording. Virtually the same couplet appears lower down on the page (ll. 14-15) but changed now as to its position, for a reason to be explained. In the published version it retains its position as the second couplet of the verse paragraph, but there it is once more altered, in terms of the diction of the half-line, to read "*Presume to treat him at his own Expence*". In this form it was quoted by Swift in his letter to Gay.

Swift appears to have noted down the second couplet, (ll. 4-5) principally to fix the rhyme words. The half line "Every one can count" was followed by a whole line ending in *amount*. In the lower part of the page (ll. 12-13) this half line was expanded to its proper length, but then the entire couplet

was deleted and rewritten (ll. 16-17). The phrase "your fees and perquisites" was altered to read "yr lawfull perquisites", the form in which it also appears in the printed version (l. 66).

The third couplet (ll. 6-7) eventually became the opening one of the verse paragraph below (ll. 10-11) and of the printed version (ll. 61-62). Swift quoted this couplet in his letter to Gay. As Swift first jotted down the couplet, its tone was too strong and monitory, its diction negative, its meter pedestrian :

Unwisely of y^r wealth you make parade
When half his Grace's debts are left unpaid.

Swift appears to have perceived these defects almost at once. In rewriting the couplet lower down on the page (ll. 10-11) he conceived the happy notion of addressing Gay in a more genial and hortatory tone by changing the first words in each line, by removing some of the negatives, and by varying the meter :

Be rich but of y^r Wealth make no parade
At least before yr Mas^{rs} debts are payd

The altered tone and subtler rhythm made two plodding lines come briskly alive. Realizing this, Swift promoted the couplet to its opening position in the verse paragraph where it also remained for the final version :

Be rich ; but of your Wealth make no Parade ;
At least, *before your Master's Debts are paid.*

An interesting thing about the fourth couplet is that it is written down as a prose sentence (ll. 8-9). The first line contains extra syllables, the second lacks one, and the first rhyme word *Sum*, although there was space to write it, runs over into the second line. Here again Swift seems to be most interested in getting down the general idea and the precise rhyme words. Something about this couplet did not please him, however, since he rejected it below. It is typical of his conserving genius that when the couplet appeared in the final version (ll. 69-70) Swift had altered and expanded the idea considerably, but he retained the word *Praemium* within the first line, and preserved the word *Sum* to rhyme with *come* in the couplet immediately following (ll. 70-71).

In the second half of this page of manuscript Swift polished and fitted the parts. He replaced the rejected couplet with another (ll. 18-19), deleted and then rewrote a second couplet. The lines here are of proper length and in tighter meter. Swift's main concern in the second stage of composition was to refine the diction within the couplets for more precision, and to rearrange the couplets to form the emerging pattern of the verse paragraph. The logical pattern of the verse here established is also followed in the printed version, although Swift continued to tinker with the diction, in terms of the half-line especially. "Regale y^r Mas^r at his own expence" (l. 15) is changed to read "*Presume to treat him at his own Expence*" in the printed version (l. 64); "Are stale excuses to conceal y^r crimes" (l. 19) becomes "Are ill excuses for a Servant's crimes" (l. 68).

We may say, then, that in composing a portion of this poem of 1731 to Gay, Swift began by jotting down some generally related notions that were beginning to form into rhymed clusters in his head. Other couplets he recorded to fix the general idea and the exact rhyme by writing them down as half lines or even as prose sentences. In the next stage Swift rearranged the couplets to establish the framework of the verse paragraph, and he adjusted the line-length, improved the meter, altered and refined the diction for greater precision. Sometimes he changed single words and phrases; more often he altered the diction in terms of half line units. When, by a happy stroke, he perfected a mediocre couplet, Swift seized the advantage at once. He was equally perceptive and firm about altering radically or rejecting an imperfect couplet, although his artistic economy forced him to conserve as much as was possible of his original words and thought. He established the structure of the verse paragraph without great difficulty, but he continued to refine and sharpen the diction of half lines for greater precision and pointedness.

THE JOHN RYLANDS *LAYLĀ WA MAJNŪN* AND THE BODLEIAN *NAWĀ'Ī* OF 1485: A ROYAL TIMURID MANUSCRIPT

By B. W. ROBINSON, M.A., B.LITT.

ASSISTANT KEEPER, VICTORIA AND ALBERT MUSEUM

THE great Persian Art Exhibition at Burlington House in 1931 brought before the public for the first time a number of royal manuscripts of the first importance. Some had remained quite unknown until the time of the Exhibition, like the now celebrated *Kalīla wa Dimna* and *Shāhnāma* from the Gulistan Museum, Tehran,¹ whilst others were but imperfectly known from a few scattered reproductions. Among the latter a very high place was taken by the set of four volumes from the Bodleian Library, Oxford, of which only two were actually exhibited, containing romantic poems in Chaghatay Turkish by the scholar-statesman Mīr 'Alī Shīr Nawā'ī (1440-1501). It does not seem to have been hitherto realized that the fifth volume, completing the *Khamsa* or Quintet, is in the John Rylands Library (MS. Turk. 3). The set is dated 890/1485, and was executed at Herāt for Prince Badī' al-Zamān, son and joint successor of Sulṭān Ḥusayn Mīrzā.

The five poems were no doubt formerly bound up in one volume, whose painted lacquer covers, of eighteenth or early nineteenth century date, now enclose the last of them. The others are bound uniformly in half-leather (green) with marbled paper sides. In every volume but the first, original folios, some certainly containing miniatures, have been removed and replaced with modern paper upon which the text has been carefully copied. The whole quintet is as follows:

1. *ḤAYRAT AL-ABRĀR*. Bodleian Library, Elliot 287 (Ethé, *Catalogue*, 2116). 57 fols., 4 miniatures, illuminated double title-page and rosette with dedication to Prince Badī' al-Zamān.

¹ L. Binyon, J. V. S. Wilkinson, and B. Gray, *Persian Miniature Painting* (Oxford, 1933), Pls. XXVIII, XXXIV-XXXVI, XLIII-L; A. Upham Pope (ed.), *A Survey of Persian Art* (Oxford, 1938), vol. v, Pls. 865-74.

2. *FARHĀD U SHĪRĪN*. Bodleian Library, Elliot 408 (Ethé 2117). 78 fols., 1 miniature, and illuminated heading. 2 fols. replaced.

3. *LAYLĀ WA MAJNŪN*. John Rylands Library, MS. Turk. 3. 48 fols., 2 miniatures, and illuminated heading. 7 fols. replaced.

4. *SAB'Ā SAYYĀRA*. Bodleian Library, Elliot 317 (Ethé 2118). 65 fols., 2 miniatures, and illuminated heading. 1 fol. replaced.

5. *ṢADD I ISKANDAR*. Bodleian Library, Elliot 339 (Ethé 2120). 97 fols., 4 miniatures, and illuminated heading. 2 fols. replaced.

This *Khamsa* was among the remarkable collection of Persian manuscripts formed by Sir Gore Ouseley in the course of his missions to the court of Fath 'Alī Shāh in 1810-12. In 1858 the Bodleian acquired thirty-nine of the choicest from the collector's son, the Rev. Sir Fred. Gore Ouseley, Bart., and in the following year Mr. J. B. Elliot of Patna presented 422 manuscripts to the Library, almost all of which he had purchased from Sir Gore Ouseley's collection on the latter's death in 1844. The four Bodleian Nawā'ī volumes were included in this munificent gift. The John Rylands *Laylā wa Majnūn*, however, seems to have become somehow separated from its fellows, probably at the time of Sir Gore Ouseley's death, and found its way into the Bibliotheca Lindesiana (whose book-plate it bears, as well as that of Sir Gore Ouseley), and so eventually into the John Rylands Library.

The two volumes exhibited at Burlington House in 1931 are fully described by Binyon, Wilkinson, and Gray¹ under nos. 79 and 80, and the miniatures in all four are discussed on page 91, where the authors, with only a slight reservation, attribute them *en bloc* to the artist Qāsim 'Alī. This attribution rests on an intercolumnar "signature" in red ink on the *Mystics in a Garden*,² the last miniature in the last volume of the set. This inscription recalls immediately the similar

¹ Op. cit. This will be subsequently referred to as BWG.

² BWG, Pl. LXVI.



LAYLĀ AND MAJNUN FAINTING IN CAMP
 Rylands Turk. MS. No. 3, fol. 16b



MAJNUŪ VISITED IN THE DESERT BY SALĪM

Rylands Turk. MS. No. 3, fol. 34a

From the *Laylā wa Majnun* of Mīr 'Alī Shīr Nawā'ī

"signatures" of Qāsim 'Alī on four of the miniatures in the celebrated British Museum Nizāmī of 1495,¹ though the wording is slightly different—*ṣawwarahū Qāsim 'Alī* in the British Museum Nizāmī, and *al-'abd Qāsim 'Alī* in the Bodleian Nawā'ī. The latter formula was used by Qāsim 'Alī's master Bihzād on several well-authenticated works,² sometimes prefixed by *ṣawwarahū*.

The most redoubtable champion of Qāsim 'Alī was M. Sakisian, who built him up into a figure almost greater than Bihzād himself;³ but however much we may sympathize with M. Sakisian's enthusiasm, we must bear in mind two sobering thoughts: firstly, that for every genuine signature or attribution on a Persian miniature there are at least fifty that are demonstrably false, and that therefore, even when an attribution appears plausible, it should not be accepted without considerable reservations; and secondly, that the comments and judgements of oriental writers on matters of art are as a rule highly personal, and should not necessarily be taken as factual statements. A case in point is the account of Qāsim 'Alī written by Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥaydar Dughlāt in the first half of the sixteenth century, in which the artist is described as "almost Bihzād's equal".⁴

M. Ivan Stchoukine has gone into the question of these "signatures" of Qāsim 'Alī in his *Peintures des Manuscrits Timurides* (Paris, 1954, pp. 69, 70) and an admirable and closely

¹ Or. 6810, fols. 106b, 144b, 175a, 273a; remains of similar inscriptions, with the name erased, occur on fols. 157a, 190a, 214a. F. R. Martin and Sir Thomas Arnold, *The Nizami MS. in the British Museum, Or. 6810* (Vienna, 1926), Pls. 13, 17, 19-22, 24. This publication, which reproduces all the miniatures and the illuminated double title-page, will be subsequently referred to as MA.

² For example, in the Cairo *Bustān* (BWG, p. 86 and no. 83, Pls. LXVIII-LXXI) and the British Museum Nizāmī Add. 25900 dated 846/1442 (A. Sakisian, *La Miniature persane* (Paris and Brussels, 1929), Figs. 76-8).

³ Arménag Bey Sakisian, op. cit., chap. vii; "Les miniaturistes persans Behzad et Kassim Ali" in *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, 5e période, ii (1920), 215-33; "L'école de miniature à Hérat au XVe siècle" in *La Renaissance de l'Art français*, iv (1921), 146-50, 292-7; "Le miniaturiste persan Kassim Ali" in *Revue de l'Art ancien et moderne*, lix (1931), pp. 87-96.

⁴ BWG, p. 91 and Appendix II.

reasoned article¹ on the British Museum Nizāmī of 1495, a manuscript in which the problem is still further vexed by the presence of one or more marginal attributions on most of the miniatures, and of an autograph note by the Emperor Jahāngīr (who formerly owned the manuscript) apportioning them among the artists Bihzād (sixteen), Mīrak (five), and 'Abd al-Razzāq (one), but making no mention of Qāsim 'Alī. When two marginal attributions appear on the same miniature they are, of course, mutually contradictory, and they also contradict the red Qāsim 'Alī "signatures" wherever these occur. After examining the published views of Martin, Schulz, Blochet, Kühnel, and Binyon, Wilkinson and Gray on this manuscript, M. Stchoukine argues convincingly that it is inconceivable for Jahāngīr, who prided himself on his observation of details in judging miniature paintings, to have failed to notice these red "signatures", or if he did notice them, not to have alluded to them in his note. He therefore concludes that the name of Qāsim 'Alī was added to the miniatures in question at some period after the reign of Jahāngīr. If we accept this conclusion in the case of the British Museum Nizāmī, we must also accept it as applicable to the Qāsim 'Alī "signature" in the Bodleian *Ṣadd i Isḡandar*. This is not, of course, to say that the miniature cannot be the work of Qāsim 'Alī, but only that the inscription in itself is not valid evidence to that effect.

We are thus thrown back on our own resources, and must examine the thirteen miniatures in this *Khamsa* of Nawā'ī on their own merits. Such an examination leads inevitably to the conclusion that, though homogeneous, they are the work of several different artists. They seem to fall, in fact, into four groups. Group A comprises Elliot 287, fols. 7a and 34a, and Elliot 339, fols. 77b and 95b. These are the four best miniatures in the series, in so far as one can discount the lamentable damage to *Alexander building the Rampart*,² and are worthy

¹ "Les peintures de la Khamseh de Nizami du British Museum, Or. 6810," in *Syria*, xxvii (1950), 301-13.

² There is a good Bukhārā version of this miniature in another copy of the same poem in the Bodleian (Elliot 340, fol. 80a) dated 960/1553. It has been reproduced by A. A. Pallēs, *Ἡ Φύλλαδα τοῦ Μέρυ' Ἀλέξανδρου* (Athens, 1935), Pl. 4.

of Bihzād, to whom M. Stchoukine is inclined to attribute the first and last. They are thus not necessarily by the same hand; for example, the superficially similar golden landscapes in *Shaykh 'Irāqī* and the *Mystics* are in reality quite different in treatment. At least it may be said that, if not by Bihzād himself, these four miniatures are very close to his work in both style and quality, and it is also in this group, perhaps, that we may look for the hand of Qāsim 'Alī, if we are prepared to accept Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥaydar Dughlāt's judgement that he was almost his master's equal.

Group B consists of the two miniatures in the John Rylands *Laylā wa Majnūn* (reproduced herewith) and Elliot 317, fol. 14a. These three paintings stand quite apart from the rest, with their small-scale figures and delicate archaism, and suggest an artist who had been trained and whose style had been formed before Bihzād came on the scene. The parallel case of the work of Mīrak in the British Museum *Nizāmī* of 1495¹ will immediately spring to the mind, but though the present manuscript is ten years earlier, there are too many differences in style between these three Nawā'ī miniatures and the works of Mīrak for an attribution to the latter to be possible. Indeed, among the painters attached to the court of Herāt there must certainly have been several representatives of the older generation whose names are unknown to us, and it was doubtless one of them who contributed these three charming miniatures to the set.

Elliot 287, fols. 24a and 28a, and Elliot 408, fol. 66a form Group C. All three miniatures are characterized by rather pale delicate colouring and the same treatment of rocks. The first two are further connected by a close similarity in the faces of their respective principal figures, and by some slightly archaic touches in details of decoration; the first and last by the drawing of the animals; and the second and third by the large scale of the figures.

The last Group D, consists of Elliot 317, fol. 21b, and the first two miniatures in Elliot 339 (fols. 17a and 39a). In these

¹ MA, Pl. 1, 2, 6, 9, 10.

paintings the drawing of the faces is weaker than in the rest of the set, and foreshadows Bukhārā work of half-a-century later. They also exhibit a fondness on the part of the artist for arabesque designs on buildings, which are very well executed and of marked similarity in all three miniatures.

The conspectus of the thirteen miniatures that follows sets out the foregoing conclusions in tabular form.

No.	Manuscript	Fol.	Subject	Group	Reproductions
1	Elliot 287	7a	The Prophet and his Companions	A Bihzād?	Arnold, <i>Painting in Islam</i> , Pl. XXII (colour)
2	„	24a	Khwāja ‘Abdallāh Ansārī and his Disciples	C	Gray, <i>Persian Painting</i> , Pl. 6
3	„	28a	Nūshīrwān on his throne, with a Lady	C	BWG, Pl. LXIV (A)
4	„	34a	Shaykh ‘Irāqī overcome at parting	A	BWG, Pl. LXIV (B)
5	„ 408	66a	Farhād hearing of the death of Shīrīn	C	Unpublished
6	MS. Turk. 3	16b	Laylā and Majnūn fainting in camp	B	Herewith, opp. p. 264
7	„	34a	Majnūn in the Desert visited by Salīm	B	Herewith, opp. p. 265
8	Elliot 317	14a	Portrait of a Princess shown to Bahrām Gūr	B	Stchoukine, <i>Peintures des MSS. Timurides</i> , Pl. LXXIV
9	„	21b	Courtiers waiting for their King	D	Unpublished
10	„ 339	17a	Alexander enthroned, and a Beggar before him	D	BWG, Pl. LXV (A)
11	„	39a	Majnūn at the House of Laylā	D	BWG, Pl. LXV (B)
12	„	77b	Alexander building the Rampart	A	Unpublished : badly smudged
13	„	95b	Mystics in a Garden	A Bihzād?	BWG, Pl. LXVI (colour). “Signature” of Qāsim ‘Alī

The two John Rylands miniatures in the above series deserve a fuller description, since they are here published for the first time.

Laylā and Majnūn fainting. The sky is of an intense blue, with stars, and the ground a pale mauve, shading off into various

delicate tints in the rocky horizon. The tents are black. The ground is covered with geometrically disposed grass-tufts and finely painted flowers of various kinds, all somewhat formalized as in Herāt miniatures of the earlier fifteenth century. The bare tree silhouetted against the sky is also characteristic of this earlier work; there are, for example, a number of such trees in the Royal Asiatic Society's *Shāhnāma* of about 1440.¹ This incident is frequently illustrated in manuscripts of Nizāmī, and its canonical composition, as well as that of several other stock subjects, was laid down at the beginning of the Timurid period in the splendid *Miscellany* of 1410-11 in the British Museum.² The scheme of the fainting scene in that manuscript was exactly reproduced (on a slightly expanded scale) about twenty years later in a manuscript probably made at Herāt for Prince Bāysunghur,³ and again as late as 1495 in the British Museum Nizāmī.⁴ But the artist of the John Rylands version appears to have used a composition of his own. In fact, none of the three miniatures attributed to him above is "canonical", so we may perhaps credit him with more independence and individuality than some of his colleagues.

Majnūn visited by Salīm. Here the sky is gold, and the landscape highly variegated. The pool or stream, bordered by lush green vegetation, was a favourite feature in Persian miniatures of all periods; Persia is a dry and thirsty land, and "streams in the desert" are an ever-welcome sight. In this miniature, too, we have an early representation of the light-barked plane-tree (*chinār*) which is such a feature of Safawid painting. In the earlier Herāt miniatures, to be sure, light-barked trees with variegated foliage are found, but they are formally rendered, often suggesting the rigid symmetry of

¹ R.A.S. MS. 239. J. V. S. Wilkinson, *The Shāh Nāmāh of Firdausī* (Oxford, 1931), especially Pls. XI, XIV, XVII, XXII.

² Add. 27261. Sakisian, *La Miniature persane*, Figs. 80, 82, 83.

³ Two detached miniatures are known to survive from this *Laylā wa Majnūn* in the collection of Mr. G. K. Kanoria of Calcutta, to whom I am indebted for photographs of them. They are of the style and quality associated with work done under Bāysunghur's patronage.

⁴ MA, Pl. 16.

Noah's Ark trees ; ¹ here, however, the treatment is naturalistic. On the other hand, as in the fainting scene, we may observe the rigidly geometrical arrangement of the grass-tufts, the delicate formality of the flowers, and the little bare trees and bushes. The artist has made a gallant attempt in both miniatures to imitate the new softly-shaded rock technique of Bihzād, but has not entirely succeeded in throwing off the old-fashioned "sponge" formula of the earlier Herāt style. However, unlike Mīrak, he has satisfactorily conformed his human figures to the new style. The group of Majnūn and Salīm, encircled by the stream, is reproduced ten years later in the corresponding miniature of the British Museum Nizāmī,² but its position in the composition has been moved over to the right.

These two miniatures are of considerable interest for the study of Herāt painting in the later Timurid period, firstly, because they complete an important dated series of illustrations to Nawā'ī, executed by the foremost court artists during the author's lifetime, and secondly, because they display the efforts of a highly skilled painter of the older generation to adapt himself to the stylistic innovations recently introduced, in all probability, by the individual genius of Bihzād. It must have been very trying for an established craftsman, perhaps over sixty years of age, to feel constrained to remould his style along lines laid down by a junior colleague. Our artist has come through the test well ; he has maintained his originality, evolving a personal style in which the old and new are delicately blended, and has produced three of the most charming and individual designs in this remarkable set.

¹ See, for example, *Survey*, vol. v, Pls. 852, 870, and BWC, Pls. XLV (B), XLVI (B), XLVII (A), XLIX, L.

² MA, Pl. 14.

ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL CONSEQUENCES OF THE HANNIBALIC WAR¹

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The Effect of Two Great Wars in One Lifetime

THE social effect of any great war is to speed up the pace of social change ; and, when, within the span of a single lifetime, one great war is followed by a second, the cumulative effect is much more than double that of a single great war. In our world in our time we are conscious of this overwhelming cumulative effect in our own experience of the wars of 1914-18 and 1939-45. In our own case, however, we have not yet had time to see beyond the beginning of the sequel ; so perhaps we may find ourselves interested in looking at past instances in which we do know the whole story.

"Double great wars" are rare ; but there were three of them in the history of the Graeco-Roman Civilization ; and each of these pairs of wars had a decisive effect on the destinies of the society in which it was perpetrated. The first pair was the Archidamian War of 431-421 B.C. followed by the Decelean War of 413-404 B.C. ; and this double great war—the Great Atheno-Peloponnesian War—was the occasion of the Greek Civilization's breakdown. The second pair was the First Romano-Punic War of 264-241 B.C. followed by the Hannibalic War of 218-201 B.C. ; and this double great war was the occasion of the Greek Civilization's relapse into a débacle after a brief third-century rally. The third pair of great wars was the Romano-Persian War of A.D. 572-90 followed by its successor of A.D. 603-28 ; and this double great war was the occasion of the Graeco-Roman Society's final dissolution. The consequences of the second of these three double great wars are the subject of the present lecture.

¹ A lecture delivered in the John Rylands Library on Wednesday, the 10th of March, 1954.

*The Roman Commonwealth on the Eve of the
First Romano-Punic War*

In the course of seventy years—342-272 B.C.—Rome had imposed political unity, under her own ascendancy, on the whole of Peninsular Italy south of, but not including, the basin of the River Po. These Roman conquests in Cisappennine Italy, rapid though they were, were neither so rapid nor so spectacular as the contemporary conquests of Alexander the Great in South-Western Asia. They were, however, not less momentous ; for, as a result of them, the Roman Commonwealth made its entry on to the stage of Greek history as one of five Great Powers in an expanding Greek world. Two of the other four—the Carthaginian Empire and the Kingdom of Macedon—had already been on the map before the face of this map had been changed by the Macedonians' and the Romans' military achievements. The other two—the Achaemenian Empire's Seleucid successor-state in South-West Asia and an insurgent native Egyptian Kingdom's Ptolemaic successor-state in the Lower Nile Valley—were also old empires under new management. The Roman Commonwealth was the only one of the five that was new in reality. Rome had turned herself from a middle-sized city-state into a Great Power by imposing military and political unity upon Italy—an enterprise which had proved to be beyond the strength of the Etruscans in the sixth and fifth centuries B.C. and of the Siceliot Greeks in the fifth and fourth.

An expanding Greek world had begun to impinge upon Italy 400 years before the Roman conquest of Italy, and the Roman Commonwealth was entangled in the Greek world because it included two important Italian pieces of it : Magna Graecia (what was left of it, after the infiltration of the Oscan barbarians in the fourth century B.C.) and a semi-Hellenized Etruria, particularly the Etruscan black country (Elba and Populonia). This political entanglement raised questions that were social and cultural ; for by the time, in the third decade of the third century B.C., when Rome's conquest of Italy had thus brought Rome back into the Greek World again, Rome

herself and the central Italian heart of her newly-built commonwealth had been out of touch, for some 150 years, with the main movement of Greek history. In the sixth century B.C. Rome had been a partly commercial and industrial city-state ruled by a despot, like the neighbouring Etruscan city-states and the leading Greek city-states of the day : Corinth, Sicyon, Miletus, Athens. But when, towards the end of the sixth century, Rome—again behaving like her more eminent contemporaries—had turned her despot out, she had had to pay for her self-liberation by falling into a state of isolation and weakness that had lasted for about a century ; and, when she had exerted her reviving strength in the military and political enterprise of conquering Italy, she had built up her power by turning inland into a culturally and socially backward interior, into which the city-state dispensation had not yet penetrated and in which the native population was therefore more malleable than it was in older and more advanced communities with more deeply engraved memories of a more glorious past. In moulding this native central Italian human raw material, Rome had the institutional advantage of being, herself, a city-state of old standing ; but, by the third century B.C., Rome's way of life had come to be old-fashioned. It was a way that had been put out of date, east of the Adriatic, by the sweeping social and political revolution there in the generation of Alexander the Great ; and in 264 B.C. there were at least four signal differences between Rome and some or all of the other Great Powers in the new world into which Rome had now been drawn as a result of her Italian conquests.

One of these differences was constitutional. Since the days of Alexander and his father Philip, the typical constitution of a Great Power in the Greek world had come to be monarchy. Carthage was the only third-century Great Power besides Rome in which the sovereign authority was a city-state. A second difference was a military one. In accordance with the pre-Alexandrine Greek city-state tradition, Rome's fighting-force was a compulsory levy of free citizens possessing property of at least a minimum value ; and the contingents furnished, under treaty, by Rome's Italian confederate communities were levied

from the same class. But there was only one other Great Power, besides Rome, that now still had a citizen army, and this was Macedon. The other three contemporary Great Powers—Carthage, Ptolemaic Egypt, and Seleucid Asia—all employed professional armies largely composed of foreign mercenaries. A third difference, closely connected with the military one, was economic. Rome's citizen fighting-force consisted of farmers who made their living by subsistence farming, whereas all the other contemporary Great Powers, except Macedon, had gone over to cash-crop farming with a labour-force, not of citizen-soldiers, but of serfs or slaves who were exempt from military service. In the fourth place, there was an administrative difference which distinguished the Roman Commonwealth sharply from contemporary Ptolemaic Egypt, though not so sharply, perhaps, from any of the other three Great Powers. The Roman Commonwealth in the third century B.C. did not possess anything like the contemporary Ptolemaic professional civil service.

The Question of Rome's Future Rôle in the Greek World

Now that Rome had made herself into a Great Power by uniting Italy, she was bound to play a leading part in the international life of the Greek world because her military material was as good and as cheap as Macedon's and was many times as numerous. Two questions presented themselves—one military and political, the other social and cultural. What was going to be the Roman Commonwealth's relation to the other four Powers of the day? And in what way, and at what pace, was she going to come into line with the rest of society in her social structure? Evidently, sooner or later, Rome would have to come to terms with the prevailing institutions of the age: monarchy, a professional army, cash-crop farming, a professional civil service. Would Rome's way of "receiving" these institutions be evolutionary or revolutionary?

The effect of the "double war" of 264-201 B.C. was to give both the military-political question and the social-cultural question a revolutionary answer. By 167 B.C. Rome had made herself mistress of the whole Greek world. By that date, one

of the other Great Powers, Macedon, had already been destroyed, and the three survivors were surviving only on sufferance. As a result of this rapid and irreversible overturning of the previous international balance of power, the pace of the Roman Commonwealth's social adjustment to the rest of society was so much speeded up, and the process itself was forced on to such unhealthy lines, that in 133 B.C. a revolution broke out in the Roman Commonwealth which went on for 100 years and which devastated not only Italy but the whole Greek World, before Augustus managed, as he did in and after 31 B.C., to win a reprieve for a society whose moral constitution had, by that time, been fatally undermined.

The Effect of the Double War of 264-201 B.C. on Economic and Social Life in Southern Italy

Southern Italy was the Roman Commonwealth's heel of Achilles. The Lucanian mountains and Apulian downs were unfavourable ground for agriculture by nature; and, since the fifth century B.C., the region's natural economic disadvantages had been aggravated by the social misfortune of its having been furrowed by a sharp frontier—cultural as well as political and military—between the sophisticated civilization of the Greek city-states of Magna Graecia and the barbarism of Oscan intruders who had drifted down from the most remote and most backward parts of Italy: the Appennine highlands and the middle section of the Adriatic coast. This long-drawn-out calamity was capped by the catastrophe of the Hannibalic War. Hannibal cantoned his invading army in the south of Italy in 216 B.C. and maintained his hold there till 203 B.C.; most of Rome's south Italian confederates deserted to Hannibal's side; and, during those fourteen years, the south Italian communities, Greek and Oscan alike, were devastated and depopulated by the ceaseless ebb and flow of savagely conducted military operations. After Hannibal's departure, most of the depopulated lands belonging to traitor communities were confiscated by the Roman state, and these new Roman public lands were then placed at the disposal of Roman capitalists who could afford to exploit them. For the most part they were thrown open, to any grazier

who could pay the annual fee, for pasturage, on the grand scale, with seasonal migrations of the flocks, twice a year, between highlands and lowlands. The patches of good soil in the confiscated lands were leased, not to farmers for old-fashioned subsistence farming, but to planters for producing valuable cash-crops, especially wine and olive-oil. The two new ways of exploiting the confiscated lands both required a large initial outlay of capital; and both the new plantations and the new cattle-runs were operated with slave-labour.

The employment of slave-labour on specialized plantations and on large-scale ranches was a peculiar institution of the Greek world's colonial fringe in the western basin of the Mediterranean. It is first heard of in the territory of the colonial Greek city Akragas (Agrigentum) in Sicily, where Carthaginian prisoners, captured in 480 B.C., had been set to work on the land as slaves. Since about 450 B.C., this Agrigentine slave-plantation system had been introduced, by the Carthaginians themselves, into the African hinterland of Carthage, which they had annexed at about that date. The treatment of the labour-force on commercialized plantations and ranches was more brutal in the west than it was in contemporary Egypt and south-west Asia, where the work was done, not by imported slaves, but by native serfs. The slave-revolts which began to break out on the western plantations and ranches, even before the end of the Hannibalic War, demonstrated that the inhuman treatment of the slaves was bearing the anti-social fruit that was to be expected from it. The slave-herdsmen became overt brigands; the slave-husbandmen became covert rebels, waiting sullenly for the first chance of murdering masters who treated them, not as human beings, but as expendable plant.

Sell off all superfluous property: . . . all old oxen, sickly cattle, sickly sheep, wool, hides, any old wagon, any old slave, a diseased slave, and any other superfluous property. The master should be more of a seller than a buyer.¹

This advice was addressed to planters in a manual published, at some date in the second quarter of the second century B.C., by the respected Roman statesman Marcus Porcius Cato, one

¹ Cato, M. Porcius, *De Agriculturâ*, chap. 2.

of the few Roman peasants who had succeeded, in this age, in making their way up into the new post-war capitalist class. The passage illustrates the callousness in the masters that provoked such savage retaliation from the slaves whenever these could find the opportunity.

The Effect of the Double War of 264-201 B.C. on Economic and Social Life in Central Italy

In central Italy, which was the heart of the Roman Commonwealth in virtue of being the chief recruiting-ground of its peasant armies, the effects of the Hannibalic War were far more serious than those of the First Romano-Punic War had been. The first war had been primarily a naval one, and, though the naval operations required oar-power on a large scale, Rome's oarsmen were probably drawn mainly from the sea-faring population of the Magna Graecian and Etruscan ports, and not from the Italian peasantry. There had been no corresponding demands on Rome's land-forces, in which the peasantry were in the first line; and so, even while the first war was being waged, the Roman Government had found itself still able to go on planting new peasant colonies on lands that had been expropriated from ex-enemy Italian communities during the last stages of the foregoing Roman conquest of Italy. On the other hand, the Hannibalic War required the raising of Roman land-forces on a vast scale, and a considerable part of these had to be kept under arms, for years on end, in theatres as far afield from the peasant-soldiers' central Italian homes as Spain and Greece.

This long-term military service overseas uprooted the peasant-proprietor from his farm and so deprived his family of their means of subsistence. The sacrifice now demanded from this class of Roman citizens by the growing military requirements of the Roman state was as disastrous as it was unprecedented, and it was not brought to an end by the ending of the Hannibalic War itself in 201 B.C.; for this awful scourge, which had already devastated southern Italy, went on posthumously ruining central Italy by leaving behind it, as its dire legacy, a crop of supplementary wars in an increasing

number of ever more distant theatres. From 200 B.C. to 146 B.C. there were recurrent wars against Great Powers—Macedon, the Seleucid Monarchy, and Carthage—which ceased only when no Great Power besides Rome herself was left standing. From 200 B.C. to 173 B.C. there was continuous warfare in the north-western Appennines and in the Basin of the River Po to subjugate or eradicate the local barbarians. From 200 B.C. onwards there was also continuous further warfare in Spain, and this went on till the last recalcitrant pocket of Spanish resistance to the Roman conquest was ironed out by Augustus in or after 19 B.C. Moreover, the year 146 B.C., which saw the series of Romano-Macedonian wars terminate in the reduction of Macedon to the status of a Roman province, inevitably also saw the opening of a new front to be manned by expatriated Roman peasant-soldiers along this new province's northern borders, which, henceforward, had to be defended by Roman instead of by Macedonian arms against Macedon's perpetually aggressive barbarian neighbours.

The reason why this continuous warfare in distant theatres was economically and socially disastrous for the Roman Commonwealth was because, throughout the next 100 years after the end of the Hannibalic War, the Roman Government persisted in waging its wars with the old-fashioned military instrument that it had employed with such signal success in its previous conquest of Italy. So long as the central Italian peasant-soldier had been called up only for seasonal campaigns on Italian soil, it had been possible for him to combine the performance of his traditional military duty to the state with his economic and social function of cultivating his garden and providing for his family. But now a sacrifice was being required of him that had no parallel in the world of the day. It was not that the Roman Government was singular in waging long wars far afield; no less long wars still farther afield were being waged in the second century B.C. by the Seleucidae. But in this age every government, except the Roman Government, waged its long-distance wars mainly with professional armies. By employing conscript peasant-soldiers to do professional soldiers' work, the Roman Government, in the course of the second century B.C., completed

the ruin of the subsistence-farming peasantry in central Italy which had been begun by the military demands of the Hannibalic War ; and this opened the way for the capture of central Italy, in its turn, by the capitalistic plantation-farming and stock-breeding that had captured southern Italy already.

The ruinous effects of long-term military service overseas on the economy of the peasant-soldier's central Italian farm would drive the victim, sooner or later, to sell his land cheap to some capitalist employing non-conscriptible slave-labour. When a *ci-devant* peasant thus found himself and his family landless and homeless, he was confronted with a choice between several alternative new courses.

The eligible course of becoming a capitalist himself was open to him only in theory, for Cato, who did achieve this *tour de force*, was one of those exceptions that prove a rule. It was almost insuperably difficult for a peasant to do what Cato did.

The best of the practicable alternatives was to emigrate across the Appennines into the Po Basin, and there recoup the loss of a central Italian farm by taking up an allotment of the land that had just been expropriated from Transappennine native peoples. On the remote banks of the Transappennine northern waters in the second century B.C., conditions were still favourable for subsistence farming ; for the abundant produce of virgin fields reclaimed from the oak-woods could provide subsistence for large peasant families on the spot, while it could not be exported profitably to Cisappennine urban markets down a system of natural waterways that debouched into the wrong sea ;¹ and, in consequence, the capitalist planters and cattlemen who were in search of further lands to conquer from the Italian peasantry would not be tempted, at this stage

¹ A pioneer cultivator in the Po Basin in the second century B.C. who had wanted a profitable market for his produce would have found himself in the same plight as a pioneer cultivator in the Mississippi Basin before the advent of the railroad. The Appennines headed off the northern waters, as the Alleghanies and the Appalachians headed off the western waters, from affording to the settler from the other side of the mountains a natural waterway for transporting his produce to the more densely populated regions that he had left behind him. The Po Basin ports Atria and Spina on the Adriatic were as ill-placed for the export of agricultural produce to Rome as the Mississippi Basin port New Orleans was for the export of it to New York.

of the opening-up of the Po Basin, to prise the migrant peasant out of his new farm beyond the Appennine mountain-barrier. Within one hundred and forty-two years of the end of the Hannibalic War, the progeny of the second-century central Italian peasant-settlers in the Po Basin had grown numerous enough to be able to supply Caesar with most of the troops that he required for the conquest of Transalpine Gaul. Yet, one hundred and thirteen years before Caesar took up his Gallic command, the supply of vacant land for central Italian settlers in the Po Basin had given out; for in 173 B.C. all expropriated Cisalpine land that was then still on the Roman Government's hands was alienated to home-steaders in individual allotments;¹ and in this and the following year the Senate also put a stop to the acquisition of new public lands in this region by the old method of barbarism. They censured one of the two consuls for 173 B.C., Marcus Popillius Laenas, for having cold-bloodedly attacked, enslaved, and expropriated an unoffending independent native community, the Statelli; and they did their best to make amends to the consul's victims for the outrage that they had suffered at his hands.² Thus, from the year 172 B.C. onwards, the alternative of finding a new farm beyond the mountains was no longer open to the central Italian peasant who had lost his ancestral farm through a protracted absence on military service overseas.

The second alternative open to him was to emigrate to one of the Cisappennine Italian cities, where new urban jobs were being created by the expansion of a small-scale industry for manufacturing the relatively elaborate apparatus required for the production of wine and olive oil. In 177 B.C. a number of confederate communities respresented to the Senate that it was becoming increasingly difficult for them to supply their stipulated quotas of peasant conscripts to the Commonwealth forces because their able-bodied men of military age were migrating in such large numbers to Fregellae and to Rome itself.³

The third and worst alternative for the *ci-devant* peasant-proprietor was the line of least resistance for him, and was

¹ Livy, Book XLII, chap. 4.

² Livy, Book XLII, chaps. 7-9, 21-22.

³ Livy, Book XLI, chap. 8.

therefore the line that he was apt to take as a rule. This third alternative was for him to stay on the land in Cisappennine Italy as a landless agricultural labourer (*politor*) who would find seasonal, not permanent, employment in the new olive-yards and vinyards. These "mean freemen", like the plantation slaves, were exempt from military service; but this alleviation of their lot was regarded, not as a privilege, but as a stigma; and their juridical status of being nominally their own masters condemned these "mean freemen" to be treated even worse than their servile fellow-labourers; for the slave-owner whose economic interest deterred him from starving his human chattels to death and from prematurely working them out by intolerably hard labour had no similar interest in the welfare of his temporary hired hands; and he therefore hired them for the shortest possible periods and employed them then on back-breaking work in order to spare the slave-gang that was the permanent nucleus of his labour-force.¹

The Effect of the Double War of 264-201 B.C. in calling into Existence a New Class of Roman Business Men

A city-state could manage its own public affairs without employing a professional civil service: for affairs that were so simple and on so small a scale could be administered, well enough for what was required, by unpaid elective annual public officers; and when, between 342 B.C. and 272 B.C., the Roman city-state swelled itself out to a gigantic size by incorporating the whole of Peninsular Italy, the new Roman Commonwealth was still able to go on administering itself in the old way, because it was organized as an association of city-states, each of which still retained its local autonomy. There were confederate city-states that were externally associated with Rome by treaty; and there were municipal city-states (some of them *ci-devant* independent communities, others among them Roman colonies) whose citizens had two citizenships, a local municipal one and a national Roman one as well. Thus the administrative problem arising from the great increase in

¹ Varro, M. Terentius, *Res Rustica*, Book I, chap. 17, § 2.

the scale of the Roman Commonwealth was met, not by creating a professional civil service, but by pushing the old amateur system of local self-government as far as it could be made to go. In the Roman Commonwealth before the establishment of the Principate by Augustus, the only local officials who were not locally elected officers were the "prefects" who were appointed by the annually elected public officers of the Roman city-state itself to supervise for them the administration of certain communities that had been given the Roman citizenship before they had become well enough versed in Roman ways to be able to manage their own municipal government for themselves.

By these expedients the Romans had contrived still to do without a professional civil service even when they had expanded the territory of the Roman city-state itself to embrace about a quarter of Peninsular Italy, and the territory of the Roman Commonwealth to embrace the whole of Peninsular Italy. When however, the Hannibalic War confronted the Roman Government with the novel task of fitting out armies for service overseas and then keeping these distant armies supplied for years on end, they found the task impossible to perform without an efficient organization of some kind; and, since they had no professional civil service, they met this emergency by calling in private enterprise to their aid. The opportunity thus presented by the state's necessity could not be seized by the governing class itself; for in 218 B.C., on the eve of the outbreak of war, the opposition had carried a *Lex Claudia* debarring senators and their sons from engaging in overseas trade. When the war was over, this veto pushed senatorial capitalists into finding an alternative field for investment in planting and stocking the newly acquired Roman public lands in the south of Italy. Meanwhile, during the war, private enterprise had to be enlisted for servicing the armies overseas; and the government contracts for this lucrative business, for which senators were now legally ineligible, called into existence a new class of Roman business men.

What part was this new class going to play in Roman life? The history of one of the earliest of the war-time contracts was

ominous. In 215 B.C., when the Roman treasury was already bankrupt, three companies of contractors undertook to supply the Roman armies in Spain on credit, on condition that the state should insure them against losses. In 212 B.C. it came to light that two of the nineteen contractors had been purposely sinking their ships and making fraudulent returns of the value of the cargoes.¹

Even before this scandal, the Roman Government had been chary of placing public contracts in Roman hands. When, as a result of the First Romano-Punic War, the Island of Sicily had become a Roman province, the contract for collecting the tithe of corn due to the Government from the Sicilian cultivators was let to native Sicilian contractors by the Roman authorities ; and, though, in spite of the lesson learnt during the Hannibalic War, the contracts for administering the Italian customs and for working the Spanish mines were let, apparently, to Roman contractors in 179 B.C., the Roman Government preferred, from 167 B.C. to 158 B.C., to close down the profitable Macedonian mines, which the Roman state had inherited from the extinguished kingdom of Macedon, rather than allow Roman contractors to have a finger in the pie.² In fact, the Roman Government was alert to keep the new Roman business men's wings clipped from the end of the Hannibalic War down to the year 123 B.C., when Gaius Gracchus made their fortunes for them at one stroke, by letting out, on contract, the collection of taxes in the new Roman province of Asia and giving a monopoly of this golden opportunity to the Roman business men as the purchase-price for their support of Gaius's domestic political programme.

*The Cumulative Consequences of the Romano-Punic Double War
of 264-201 B.C. During the Next Two-thirds of a Century :
201-133 B.C.*

The double war of 264-201 B.C. produced, within the next two-thirds of a century, cumulative consequences which were

¹ Livy, Book XXIII, chaps. 48-49 ; Book XXV, chaps. 3-4.

² Livy, Book XLV, chap. 18.

as grave as they were great. They were grievous within the bosom of the Roman Commonwealth itself and, if possible, still more grievous in the Greek world at large, almost the whole of which now lay at Rome's mercy.

Inside the Roman Commonwealth, the self-supporting peasant-proprietor had been uprooted in southern Italy almost entirely and in central Italy to a large extent ; and his disappearance from his original home, south of the Appennines, had been only partially offset by calling into existence a new world of *ci-devant* Cisappennine peasant-proprietors in the Po Basin. In Peninsular Italy the evicted peasantry had been replaced by a new population of slave-plantation hands and slave-herdsmen. Meanwhile, the Roman Government's military necessities had called into existence a new Roman social class of business men who—like modern western business men in the pre-industrial age—made their fortunes, not by productive economic activities, but by the farming of government contracts.

In the international arena, one half-century—218 B.C. to 167 B.C.—had seen Rome impose her military supremacy on the Greek world without having seen her even begin to manifest either the will or the capacity to establish and administer a world-state to take the place of the parochial Great Powers whom she had now overthrown. After Rome had made her supremacy unchallengeable by shattering Macedon in succession to Carthage, there was an interregnum of 136 years—167 B.C. to 31 B.C.—during which the Romans shamelessly exploited a world which they had wrecked, instead of shouldering their responsibility for rebuilding it and for keeping the new building in order. During these disgraceful years, the only efficient Roman administrators were the public contractors, and these were predatory. It was not till after 31 B.C. that these licensed brigands' descendants were at last converted into civil servants who were efficient and at the same time conscientious.

The Failure of the Roman Revolution of 133 B.C.-31 B.C.

By 133 B.C. the ruin that had been brought upon the Cisappennine Italian peasantry by the burden of long-term military service overseas had gone so far that the Roman Common-

wealth's once seemingly inexhaustible reservoir of peasant-soldiers was now patently beginning to run dry ; and the fear of seeing Rome's military power wither at the roots was the motive behind the programme of agrarian reform that was launched by Tiberius Gracchus. Tiberius's measures, though they were intended to be conservative, precipitated a revolution that went on for 100 years and that devastated not only the Roman Commonwealth but the entire Greek world, without ever achieving its purpose. This long revolution passed through two stages—a Gracchan stage lasting from 133 B.C. to 111 B.C. and a Marian stage lasting from 111 B.C. to 31 B.C.—but, in both stages, the revolution was a failure because the radical policy of Marius and the other war-lords who followed in Marius's footsteps was no more realistic than the conservative policy of the Gracchi had been.

The policy of the Gracchi was simply to put back the hands of the clock by reconvertng central and southern Italy into a land of peasant-proprietor citizen-soldiers. This policy was foredoomed to failure for two reasons, one economic and the other institutional. The economic reason was that, in Cisappennine Italy in the second century B.C., small-scale subsistence farming was less remunerative than large-scale commercialized plantations and cattle-runs. The institutional reason was that the peasant-proprietors were being re-established expressly for the purpose of their being conscripted, as in the past, for military service ; and this traditional demand on them, which had become a crushing burden under the new conditions of Roman warfare that had been inaugurated by the outbreak of the Hannibalic War in 218 B.C., was bound to uproot a re-established peasantry once again, as the Roman state's campaigns came to be fought ever farther and farther afield and to be ever longer and longer drawn out. In these increasingly adverse circumstances the subsistence-farming peasantry's liability to military conscription would have made it impossible for it to resist the encroachments of the capitalist planters and cattlemen, whose slave-labour was exempt from military service, even if, in Cisappennine Italy in this age, the new methods of exploiting the land had not been more profitable in themselves.

The policy of the "political generals", which was tried after the Gracchan policy's failure had become evident, was no more realistic though it was much more drastic and more brutal. Marius and his successors did find a solution for Rome's military problem by tapping a new source of recruitment. Instead of continuing to rely on conscripts levied from the now fast shrinking reservoir of peasant-proprietors, they dipped into the now fast expanding pool of casual free agricultural labour and drew from it an ample flow of volunteers. To these "mean freemen", long-term military service overseas as professional soldiers offered both greater present security and more promising eventual prospects than seasonal work in Italy on other men's plantations, where they were set to do the back-breaking work on which the slave-owners did not wish to expend the life and limb of their permanent human chattels. In the army the "mean free" volunteer could at least count on receiving more or less regular subsistence and pay; and, besides the hope of prize-money, there was "a gentleman's agreement", between the volunteer and the war-lord under whose banner he enlisted, that, when the soldier was eventually discharged, the war-lord should provide him, by fair means or by foul, with a farm of his own on Italian soil. Thus, in effect, the Roman military forces raised by Marius and his successors were private armies, and these private armies were armed trades-unions, whose rank and file provided the boss with brute force for bringing pressure to bear upon the Commonwealth, while the boss used the political "pull" that his command of a private army gave him in order to provide for his "under-privileged" followers at the expense of the propertied classes, including the surviving peasant-proprietors as well as the capitalist planters and cattlemen.

This sinister trades-unionism-under-arms worked effectively, during the eighty years 111 B.C.-31 B.C., in transferring Italian agricultural land from the hands that had been cultivating or grazing it into the hands of professional soldiers who had once been casual labourers on the land before they had joined the army. The point in which the Marian policy was unrealistic was that the ex-agricultural labourers whom it was endowing with farms of their own, through arbitrary acts of

expropriation on a large scale, had long since been incapacitated, by years of professional military service, for settling down to cultivate the farms on which their hearts had never ceased to be set. The agricultural labourer turned professional soldier had, in fact, become unfit for farming before winning by the sword the farm that no milder tool had availed to obtain for him.

Thus the Marian policy carried Italian agriculture a long stage farther down the road to ruin without solving the problem of providing a tolerable life and living for the landless Italian agricultural labourer. The problem remained unsolved until after 31 B.C., when Augustus—the sole survivor of a struggle for existence among rival war-lords—solved it at last by cantoning a deflated professional army along distant frontiers and by providing the soldiers with pensions, as well as with pay, from Imperial funds. The Principate was able to meet this vast financial commitment because it succeeded in creating a civil service that was honest as well as efficient. Until the Roman Government had equipped itself with this professional administrative instrument, it had been impotent to meet the cost of a professional army out of taxation, and had therefore had to let the Marian professional soldiery provide for themselves by plunder and expropriation. But the Augustan Imperial Civil Service, which won a two hundred-years-long reprieve for the Graeco-Roman Society as well as for the Roman Empire, had been created two hundred years too late. A step which ought to have been taken before the end of the third century B.C. had not been taken till just before the end of the last century B.C.; and, in spite of the reprieve that was the reward of overdue action even at the eleventh hour, the two hundred years' delay was fatal in the long run both for the Roman Empire and for the civilization that it had incapsulated. Those two centuries of agony—218 B.C. to 31 B.C.—had taken the life out of the Graeco-Roman World; and this lost life could not be conjured back into the stricken body social by a Roman World Government that had learnt to be beneficent two hundred years too late. This was the nemesis of the double war of 264-201 B.C. Within two hundred years of the fateful assault upon Saguntum, dire Hannibal had posthumously completed the task of taking vengeance upon Rome which he had failed to finish off within his life-time.

THE LAND TAX IN SCOTLAND, 1707-98¹

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THE land tax was part of the high price which England and Wales had to pay for the Glorious Revolution; it was part also of the price paid by Scotland for full union with them under the Revolution system. But whereas in England, the structure of land tax administration had grown up gradually in answer to successive financial crises,² in Scotland it was superimposed at one stroke upon the older system of cess collection, and superimposed as part of the protracted piece of political bargaining concluded by the Act of Union. Thus from the beginning there were many respects in which the land tax system of Scotland differed from that in the south, differences which were to mark its history throughout the century.

In the ninth clause of the Treaty of Union there were two main provisions as to the manner of raising the land tax. The first of these was that the quota was to be "raised and collected in the same manner as the cess now is in Scotland; but subject to such regulations in the manner of collecting as shall be made by the Parliament of Great Britain". The second was that although the quota was to be fixed at the low figure of £48,000, less than was paid by many English counties, it was nevertheless to be "free of all charges".³ Under the first provision,

¹ For convenience shelf-mark references have been given to all manuscript material in the P[ublic] R[ecord] O[ffice] which has been used in this article. This includes the following classes: Treasury Board Papers (T. 1): Out-Letters North Britain (T. 17): Out-Letters General (T. 27): Minute Books (T. 29): Chatham Papers, P.R.O. 30/8 (Out-Letters Taxes and Reference Books have also been examined but yield little information about the Scottish land tax). Reference to volumes of the Cal[endar of] T[reasury] B[ooks] as yet unpublished, are to volumes of proof pages in the P.R.O. References to the Additional MSS. in the British Museum are all to the Newcastle Papers.

² See my book, *The English Land Tax in the 18th Century*, London, 1953.

³ The £48,000 which Scotland was to pay when the rate in England was 4s. in the £, made no pretence of being a £ rate; it was equivalent to eight months of the old cess, and according to the Scottish Commissioners in the negotiations, it was all the country could bear. G. Burnet, *History of his own time*, ed. (London, 1875), p. 799.

subject to regulation from Westminster, the Scottish land tax was to be raised under Scottish law (to be discussed later) and by traditional Scottish practice. In England and Wales the quotas upon counties and boroughs were fixed in the Land Tax Acts; in Scotland the custom was that in return for their legal monopoly of trade the Royal Burghs should bear one-sixth of the quota of cess. The Convention jealously guarded its privilege of apportioning this sixth among the burghs according to the fluctuations of trade.¹ In the counties the quotas fixed in the Acts were raised under the supervision of the Commissioners of Supply who, like the English land tax commissioners appointed the assessors and collectors. In Scotland these officials had not a parish, but a whole county to cover.

There was one Receiver-General for the whole of Scotland stationed at Edinburgh, who had all the duties of his fellows in the English counties. But as the Tax Office in London was both distant and ignorant of the special problems of Scotland, and as under Scottish law he had authority over the local Commissioners denied to his English brethren, he assumed many of the functions of oversight exercised in England by the central office. Though appointed and dismissed by the Treasury (to whom he despatched regular accounts of his payments), his main concern was with the masters close at hand, the Barons of the Scottish Court of Exchequer. This court, erected under the Act of 6 Anne c. 26, was composed partly of Scottish and partly of English Barons, and was designed to accommodate Scottish to English Exchequer practice. For the most part, however, the Court pursued a course of inglorious inefficiency.²

¹ Though in 1708 it decided for the moment to retain the old tax roll. *Extracts from the records of the Convention of Royal Burghs* (cited below as *Convention Records*), iv. 448.

² Scottish History Society (cited below as SHS.), 1st ser., vol. xiii: *The memoirs of Sir John Clerk of Penicuik*, Edinburgh, 1892, pp. 70-1. For the powers of the court: P.R.O. T. 1/548, fols. 59-60; B[ritish] M[useum] Add. MSS. 33049, fols. 246-52. Sir John Clerk and John Scrope, *Historical view of the forms and powers of the Court of Exchequer in Scotland*, privately printed, Edinburgh, 1820. For its inefficiency: B.M. Add. MSS. 32736, fol. 227; 32859, fol. 80; 32917, fols. 90-1; P. C. Yorke. *Life of Hardwicke* (Cambridge, 1913), i. 621; ii. 89-91.

The second provision in the Act of Union that the quotas should be paid free of all charges, prohibited the payment of collectors, Commissioners' clerks and the Receiver by poundage as in England. Hence from the beginning the local Commissioners were forced to turn surplus land tax funds to unofficial purposes to pay their servants, and soon local authorities were using the money for many purposes. The Receiver, who derived his salary from the office of Receiver of Crown Rents and Casualties to which he had been appointed before the Union, became a major pluralist in the financial administration, and had every inducement to profit by his balances instead of remitting them. How did this organization develop in the course of the century?

Local Administration in Scotland: (I) The Royal Burghs

The fundamental problem of land tax administration in the Royal Burghs in the eighteenth century arose from the decaying prosperity of many of the smaller burghs. In this period the wastage of municipal assets went on steadily, and the innumerable petitions for tax relief which came up cannot all be set aside as special pleading.¹ In these cases the Convention would appoint a small committee of representatives of other burghs to investigate the case and make recommendations; ² periodically the whole tax roll would be revised by Commissioners appointed on oath.³

Between 1711 and 1714 this latter procedure provoked a first class battle among the burghs. In 1711, faced by a number of appeals for reduced assessments, the Convention, "considering what great heats and debates doe generally arise among the royal burrows at the alteration of the tax roll", ordered the present roll to continue for a year, merely requiring some of the more prosperous burghs to advance the money due from unfree traders till it came in. The representatives of Glasgow, Aberdeen,

¹ *Convention Records*, v. 6, 174, 432; vii. 299, 324, 385; S[cottish] B[urgh] R[ecords] S[ociety], *Extracts from the Council Register of the Burgh of Aberdeen* (Edinburgh, 1872), p. 370.

² *Convention Records*, e.g. vii. 299, 324, 385.

³ *Ibid.* v. 194, 196, 401, 473.

Dumfries and Aberbrothock, with the support of Inverness, no doubt fearing that this would become a permanent addition to their assessment, refused to pay. Both sides carried their case to Westminster, making wild allegations against each other.¹

For the moment the recusant burghs gained their point, and their view that assessments should fall upon landed rents rather than upon trade was inscribed in the Act. When in 1712 the Convention met to draw up a new tax roll on this basis, the conflicts between the two parties broke out again over the interpretation of the Act. The recusant party accused the majority of omitting property from assessment. The opinion of the Lord Advocate did nothing to settle the quarrel, and again the dispute went to Westminster. This time the majority with the assistance of the Earl of Finlater (the late Chief Baron) triumphed by the narrow margin of 26 to 21, and the new clause was dropped from the bill.² At the General Convention of July 1713, Aberdeen and the recusants still stood out for the adoption of some definite rule like that of 1711, but in the end a new tax roll was adopted in which all the recusant burghs but Aberdeen received a notable increase in assessment. In the following year Scottish M.P.s began to put pressure on the burghs to settle their differences, and it was finally agreed that three-quarters of the quota imposed on each burgh should be raised on "lands, burrow-roods, tenements, houses, and fishings" traditionally rated within the burgh, and the other quarter upon trade. Thus peace was restored at last after three years' unbroken squabbling.³

Conflicts of this type were not the only threat arising from the decay of certain burghs. The Receiver General might quarter troops on large burghs for debts due by small.⁴ When this was

¹ *Convention Records*, v. 6-19; *C[ommons] J[ournals]*, xvii. 13; *Extracts from the records of the Burgh of Glasgow* (cited below as *Glasgow Records*), iv. 461, 466, 470; *H[istorical] M[anuscripts] C[ommission]*, *Portland MSS.*, x. 370.

² *Convention Records*, v. 42-91, *passim*; *Glasgow Records*, iv. 477-502, *passim*; *C.J.*, xvii. 305.

³ *Convention Records*, v. 91-140, *passim*; *Glasgow Records*, iv. 515, 519. This division of the assessment between land and trade lasted in Glasgow throughout the century. *Ibid.* vi. 556; vii. 41, 251; viii. 1, 147.

⁴ *Convention Records*, vi. 263, 351, 385, 457.

threatened the Convention would put pressure upon those in arrear,¹ but was sometimes reduced to borrowing to avoid quartering.² More important was the persistent struggle of the Convention with the unfree traders. Though the Royal Burghs paid their special land tax in return for their legal monopoly of trade, the prosperity of many of them suffered by the ebbing of trade to the burghs of barony and regality. One of the main themes of Convention politics in the eighteenth century was the persistent attempt to check the growth of unfree trade, and with greater realism, since they could not stop it, to turn it into a tax-paying asset. Under William III an Act of the Convention had been made by which burghs of barony or regality might accept "communication of trade", and in return shoulder part of the tax burden of the Royal Burghs. This scheme was a failure. Not many burghs accepted the communication of trade; of those that did some later renounced it. In any case they took on only a trifling part of the quota of cess, and the Royal Burghs had scant legal rights to compel them to pay even this.³

For many years, however, the Convention did its best to make the system work.⁴ The Receiver was encouraged to quarter on the recalcitrant burghs;⁵ individual burghs were given warrants to pursue their local unfree traders; but in 1724 a committee reported that the hopes of the Royal Burghs, either of getting back their trade or of securing their land tax on unfree traders, were illusory without a change in the law. Soon afterwards the burghs which had accepted communication of trade began to renounce it and to take out bills of suspension to hold up the quartering parties. On the advice of the Lord Advocate, the Convention from 1730 to 1733 started at last to press hard for a clause in the Land Tax Acts.⁶ In 1745 another committee spurred on the Convention once more to press for their clause. After the issue had been urged in vain till 1749 an approach was made to the Duke of Argyll. He pointed out that their plan to

¹ *Convention Records*, vi. 33.

² *Ibid.* iv. 483; v. 484. Cf. *Glasgow Records*, vi. 417-18.

³ For all these questions see the report of the subcommittee on unfree trade, 1724. *Convention Records*, v. 339-47.

⁴ E.g. 1719. *Ibid.* v. 210-11.

⁵ *Ibid.* v. 149, 238.

⁶ *Ibid.* v. 506, 514, 523, 538, 542, 546.

make the M.P.s for the three Lothians, Stirling and Fife, overseers of the assessments on unfree trade would be unacceptable both to the Treasury and to the members for the other counties. The Convention was at once willing to substitute a committee of Barons of the Exchequer and Lords of Session for the obnoxious board of M.P.s. But they were fighting a losing battle, and in 1770 the Convention still had neither its clause nor its land tax from unfree traders.¹ Still worse, a dispute over the land tax on unfree trade between Kirkwall and Stromness which began in the early 'forties and reached the House of Lords in 1756, led to a judgement which restricted still further the tenuous rights of the Royal Burghs to give sanction to their claims by the seizure of the property of unfree merchants.²

On one further occasion the burgh land tax came into the public eye, in the course of an interesting agitation for reform in the Scottish burghs led in Parliament by Sheridan. This campaign in the late 'eighties and early 'nineties seemed a good occasion to harry the government, and it was loudly claimed that land tax money had been misapplied. It proved in the end that many burghs (but by no means all) levied rates for local purposes on the land tax assessments, a practice which had certainly continued for years, and had been invited by the provision of the Act of Union requiring the quota to be raised net. The mountain had become a molehill, and in 1793, with Parliament already tiring of reforming schemes and the gyrations of the opposition, the campaign fell flat.³

The problems of land tax administration in the Scottish burghs were, therefore, principally two. In Edinburgh, Glasgow and a few other large towns which bore a high proportion of the total assessment, there were the problems common to the growing towns in England.⁴ Moreover, although the scheme

¹ *Convention Records*, vi. 184, 213, 238, 246, 252, 264, 296, 311, 332, 349-50, 464; vii. 392.

² *Ibid.* vi. 146, 154, 180, 256-7, 269-70, 399, 420, 424, 523, 532, 573.

³ *C.J.* xliii. 43, 206-8, 539, 554; xlv. 521, 523, 550; xlv. 654; xlvii. 696, 711, 749-50; xlviii. 377-80, 447, 462, 872, 947, 954-61, 990; Cobbett (*Parliamentary History*), xxvii. 631-5; xxix. 636 ff., 1183 ff.

⁴ For trouble with collectors in Glasgow similar to that in English towns: *Glasgow Records*, vii. 252, 343, 493.

of Glasgow and other towns to prevent an increase in their assessment was defeated in 1711, they gained their ends later for there was no change in the tax roll after 1737 with the exception of a minor adjustment between two burghs in 1768.¹ The burgh quotas became in practice as rigid as the assessments fixed in the Act in England.² But all these issues were complicated by the difficulties found by collectors in small decayed and remote burghs, of collecting and remitting even their trifling quotas; through the law of quartering the large burghs might be penalised for the delinquencies of the small. Like the other authorities concerned in the administration of the land tax, the Convention sought changes in the law which might make their efforts more effective, and like them did not succeed. In this way the land tax problems of the burghs worked themselves out in a way very similar to those of the counties.

Local Administration in Scotland : (II) The Counties

The collection of the land tax from the Scottish counties was no less difficult than from the burghs. From the time of the Union complaints began that the Scottish land tax was in arrear, complaints which were to last the whole century.³ That these complaints were well founded is made clear by the few statistics that are available. In 1746 over £43,000, almost a year's quota, was outstanding in the country, though admittedly 1745 was an exceptional year.⁴ In 1780 the Scottish land tax was almost two and a half years in arrear.⁵ No part of England had ever sunk to these depths of inefficiency, yet the situation continued to deteriorate in the last two decades of the century.⁶ The statistical evidence, fragmentary though it is, leaves no

¹ *Convention Records*, vii. 300.

² By the 'seventies the Convention itself was meeting part of the quota of several of the poorer towns. *Ibid.* vii. 474, 526.

³ P.R.O. T. 1/138, fol. 95 (but cf. T. 1/191, fol. 84); T. 1/245, fol. 245.

⁴ P.R.O. T. 1/321, fol. 100.

⁵ House of Commons Library. A[ccounts] & P[apers], ii (1780-1), no. 13. Cf. the slightly earlier figure in Bodleian MS. North A 5, fol. 158.

⁶ P.R.O. T. 29/62, fol. 377; T. 29/64, fol. 409; T. 1/686, fol. 251; T. 1/705, fol. 64.

room for doubt that the collection of the land and assessed taxes in Scotland was one of the great unsolved problems of eighteenth century administration.

Among the most intractable reasons for this situation were the difficulties of Scottish geography. Scottish collectors with a whole county to cover, and remittances from remote places to make, had a much more arduous task than the parish collectors in England, and in the later years of the century were much aggrieved about their pay.¹ A more serious problem was that since the Union much of the financial legislation relating to Scotland had been legislation by reference, owing to the provision in the Act of Union by which the land tax was to be collected as the cess had been previously. As the law of public finance had by no means spoken with one voice at that date, the administration found itself in a position of uncertainty.

The principal penalty which the Receiver might inflict upon counties in arrear was that of quartering parties of troops upon them. Unfortunately this practice from the first suffered from severe administrative difficulties.² The Commissioners made sport of the quartering parties and hindered them with legal quibbles.³ The size of the party was legally proportioned to the size of the arrear,⁴ and small units were so roughly handled that commanders became unwilling to release them.⁵ Remote parts such as Orkney and Shetland were inaccessible for such long periods that quartering was almost impossible, though in 1753 a full scale expedition to the islands was prepared.⁶

The worst problem was that, though there was no doubt that the Receiver could order quartering upon deficients, the law did not make clear who the deficients were. Under older Scots law,

¹ P.R.O. 30/8/317. "A state of the hardships imposed on the collectors of the land tax in North Britain." Cf. *Glasgow Records*, viii. 237, 240, 246. In the burghs in 1793 collectors' salaries varied from over £200 p.a. in Edinburgh to that of the unfortunate collector of Forres "where . . . no salary is fixed . . . but the persons liable in payment make him what satisfaction they please for his trouble". C.J. xlvi. 958.

² P.R.O. T. 1/191, fol. 84.

³ P.R.O. T. 1/285, fol. 46.

⁴ *Convention Records*, vi. 155.

⁵ P.R.O. T. 1/285, fol. 46.

⁶ P.R.O. T. 1/325, fol. 115; T. 1/352, fol. 212; T. 27/27, fols. 71, 79; T. 29/32, fol. 95.

Sheriffs and Stewarts in the counties, and Provosts and Bailies in the burghs, had been liable to summary penalties in the event of the tax not being paid. It seemed probable to one Receiver that by references backward in the Acts, the land tax Commissioners had become heir to both their functions and their responsibilities. But neither Commissioners nor collectors were clearly liable to quartering, and with the law so complex, quartering parties laid themselves open to penalties every time they set out. By the middle of the century the weapon of quartering was blunted in the Receiver's hands, so he persuaded the Barons of the Exchequer to grant horning against some of the northern counties. This ancient method of securing debts under penalty of seizure of moveable property on failure to pay, was even less successful, for the Receiver had no legal means of recovering the expenses incurred, as the land tax quotas had to be paid "free of all charges".¹ The Receiver's second line of defence had failed.

Although the local land tax administration in Scotland suffered from a legal confusion unknown in England, the basic trouble was the same, that the law assumed, rather than required, that the Commissioners would exercise their powers in a public spirited manner. By 1734 the Receiver reported that this premise was no longer justified. Commissioners were interested only in providing a place for a friend as collector, the collectors only in profiting from their balances; both united in obstructing the Receiver.² The one hope was a radical overhaul of the law with the object of fixing precisely the duties of the various officials, with precise and efficient penalties for lapses in performance. For these changes Allan Whitefoord pressed for twenty years, but, with that curious supineness which marked all English governments in these affairs, little was done.³

¹ For the nature of this process and its fate: P.R.O. T. 1/331, fol. 15; T. 1/333, fol. 5.

² See the Orkney case of the 'forties; P.R.O. T. 1/325, fol. 115; T. 1/333, fols. 5-6; T. 27/26, fol. 455.

³ The above account of the law is drawn from four long reports by Allan Whitefoord in the P.R.O. As evidence they suffer somewhat by being written in self-defence, but are nevertheless very valuable: T. 1/285, fols. 42-8; T. 1/325, fols. 115-6; T. 1/331, fols. 15-20; T. 1/333, fols. 5-7. A clause was ordered for the land tax bill in 1749: *C.J.* xxv. 758.

But in nothing is the obstructive temper of the local administration revealed more clearly than in the affair of the new window duties of 1747. The earlier window duties had had a chequered history,¹ but when the copies of the Act of 1747 arrived² the entire local administration went on strike, and a few small sums collected in Edinburgh never reached the Receiver. The Commissioners claimed that the poundage was too miserable to offer collectors; the collectors were unwilling to offend their neighbours; the taxpayers led by the clergy refused to pay.³ Tories in England whispered that the Scottish M.P.s had been promised that nothing would be collected if they would refrain from opposing the bill.⁴ The Treasury wrote to all and sundry to know why nothing was raised, and in 1752 the Lord Chancellor confessed that "some method to be sure should be taken to make Scotland pay her taxes, but could any ministry ever hit upon that method?"⁵

In Scotland the Lord Advocate began to use his influence in the region of Edinburgh,⁶ and Newcastle got Argyll somewhat reluctantly to help in "putting an end to the evil in a gentle but at the same time in an effectual manner".⁷ The Scottish surveyors of window lights also worked hard to produce assessments,⁸ and most important of all, despite pressure from Scotland, Newcastle got through an Act for the better collection of the duties.⁹ The essence of this Act was to eliminate the

¹ For administrative delay and political controversy: 3 SHS. 17, *Minutes of the J.P.s for Lanarks*, 1707-23, pp. 107-24, *passim*; *Marchmont Papers*, ed. Sir C. H. Rose (London, 1831), ii. 54-5; H. Walpole, *Memoirs of George II* (London, 1822), i. 239. *Cal. T.P.* v. 441-2.

² 20 Geo. II, c. 3. The Act (*inter alia*) transferred the management of the duties from the J.P.s to the land tax Commissioners. For administrative defects in Scotland: P.R.O. T. 1/325, fol. 116; T. 1/331, fol. 12.

³ P.R.O. T. 1/337, fols. 88-9; T. 1/326, fol. 179; T. 1/338, fol. 139; T. 1/438, fol. 62-4.

⁴ *Records of the Cust family*, ed. L. Cust, iii. (London, 1927), 137. The administrative papers reveal the falsity of the charge.

⁵ P.R.O. T. 29/31, fol. 295; T. 29/32, fol. 30; Walpole's *George II*, i. 237.

⁶ P.R.O. T. 1/350, fol. 183.

⁷ B.M. Add. MSS. 32736, fols. 271-2, 449-50, 531.

⁸ B.M. Add. MSS. 32736, fol. 9. At their head was Sir Robert Laurie, Bt., brother-in-law of Baron Erskine and M.P. for Kirkcudbright Burghs 1738-41.

⁹ 26 Geo. II, c. 17; B.M. Add. MSS. 32736, fol. 552.

influence of contumacious Commissioners. If they chose no collector, the collector of land tax was made *ipso facto* the collector of the window tax. If they failed to appoint assessors, the charge made by the surveyors was made the official assessment. The one defect remaining was that appeals lay to the Commissioners, and that payment could be held up pending settlement.¹ Scotland was set on the high road to the first fully professional system of collection of a direct tax seen in Great Britain.

As the Scottish Commissioners continued to resist, apart from the hearing of appeals they were excluded from the administration.² Despite the open jealousy of the London Tax Office,³ a new system was built from the old window tax administration, consisting of two Surveyors-General with an office in Edinburgh, and twenty Surveyors beneath them. On the latter was placed the tremendous labour of producing all the assessments which were now commonly completed about twelve months in arrear. The post formerly regarded as a sinecure, assumed the greatest importance.⁴ The organization of the central office was undertaken by George Innes, the deputy Receiver, who rapidly found himself overwhelmed with work.⁵

The two main issues of the rest of the period were demands for increased pay and staff, and the continued jealousy of the Tax Office towards the new Scottish administration. On all points the Scots emerged victorious. The revenue rose with the appointment of additional staff after examination.⁶ The surveyors gained moderate increases in pay.⁷ Most notably the Scottish Barons rebuffed all attempts at interference by the Tax Office in Scottish affairs, and won a decisive victory in 1791

¹ B.M. Add. MSS. 33049, fol. 178.

² P.R.O. T. 1/485, fol. 304; T. 1/630, fol. 69.

³ P.R.O. T. 1/381, fol. 75. As on an earlier occasion (T. 1/329, fol. 74) there was talk of employing the Excise officers but this idea was rejected. T. 1/382, fol. 41; T. 1/543, fol. 95; T. 29/33, fol. 81.

⁴ P.R.O. T. 1/630, fols. 69-70.

⁵ P.R.O. T. 1/485, fol. 304; T. 1/618, fol. 219; T. 1/623, fols. 209, 213.

⁶ P.R.O. T. 1/630, fols. 68-70; T. 1/631, fol. 226; T. 1/643, fol. 153; T. 1/647, fol. 121; T. 1/678, fol. 122; T. 1/719, fol. 5.

⁷ P.R.O. T. 1/605, fol. 143; T. 1/623, fols. 209, 213; T. 1/686, fol. 110; T. 1/704, fol. 192; T. 1/719, fol. 4; T. 17/25, fol. 166.

when the Taxes Commissioners were making representations about Scottish arrears before the Treasury Board.¹ Hence when the Scottish administration came under the fire of the Select Committee on Finance of 1797 the Tax Office sought revenge by placing entire responsibility upon the Barons.²

The point attacked by the Committee was that the cost of collecting the direct taxes as a whole in Scotland was nearly double that in England (despite there being no charges on the land tax), and that whereas the window tax alone cost £11 15s. per cent. to collect in England, the figure for Scotland was £30 per cent.³ The Scottish Barons showed that without expensive surveyors the money would not come in at all. As for delays, the collectors would not take up the land tax till the assessed taxes could be collected with it after the Surveyors had made their rounds. The defect which Parliament should tackle was to fulfil the promise of the Act of Union to make regulations as to the manner of collecting; the Receiver had no adequate means of compelling the collectors to disgorge their balances.⁴

Thus during the eighteenth century land tax administration in the Scottish counties pursued its own devious and peculiar course, hampered at first by a confusion in the law unknown in the south, impeded by rivalry between bureaucracy in Edinburgh and bureaucracy in London, but finally moving towards a system of tax collection more modern than that in England, both in its professional character and in its cost of maintenance. The poverty and hostility of Scotland had produced the changes in financial administration only effected in England a generation or more later by pressure of high war-time taxation.

The Scottish Receivers

The work of the Scottish Receiver was similar to that of his English brethren, and yet more responsible and far-reaching.

¹ P.R.O. T. 1/382, fol. 50; T. 1/485, fol. 304; T. 1/486, fol. 196; T. 1/509, fols. 51, 53, 54; T. 1/707, fol. 114; T. 1/711, fol. 1.

² P.R.O. T. 1/793, fol. 355.

³ *8th Report of the Select Committee on Finance, 1797*, p. 9.

⁴ P.R.O. T. 1/799, fols. 372-3.

Like them he had to put pressure upon local Commissioners,¹ but he had far more of them to deal with, and found them far more stubborn than any English Receiver. He had to pick his way through the legal maze surrounding quartering, and was expected by the Treasury to be ready with advice for making a bad situation better. The Scottish Receiver was also extremely versatile in his work. From the Union he drew his salary as Receiver of Crown Rents and Casualties. Allan Whitefoord also managed funds arising from various arrears; monies from the Lordship of Dunbar and Ettrick Forest and land in Haddingtonshire; monies imprested from the Excise, Customs and Seizures; compositions on leases of Bishops' Tythes; Bishopric Rents; the deductions of sixpence in the pound from salaries,² not to mention the grants made to support Scottish manufactories and fisheries which he disbursed in co-operation with the Convention of Royal Burghs,³ business with forfeited estates, and the payment of the whole civil establishment of Scotland.⁴ Other Receivers managed other funds,⁵ and paid out grants for the capture of deserters from the armed forces.⁶

The work of remittance was often hazardous. Archibald Douglas the first Receiver refused to send money to London by waggon without special orders, as the cost of the guard was prohibitive. Remittance by bill was difficult too,⁷ and commonly expensive.⁸ It is rather surprising to find that in earlier days much was sent up in English bank notes.⁹ Douglas, however, remitted largely through James Douglas, a London merchant

¹ 3 SHS. 17. *Minutes of the J.P.s for Lanark*, pp. 107, 119; P.R.O. T. 1/191, fol. 84.

² P.R.O. T. 1/356, fol. 123.

³ *Convention Records*, e.g. vii. 3.

⁴ C.J. xxxviii. 78.

⁵ P.R.O. T. 1/193, fol. 88; T. 1/229, fol. 9.

⁶ E.g. 1757, 256 deserters. Register House, Edinburgh. Pipe Office. Taxation accounts. Land Tax 1757.

⁷ P.R.O. T. 1/191, fol. 84.

⁸ In the 'twenties a premium of 1 per cent. or $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. was usual; P.R.O. T. 1/245, fol. 246, cf. 1714; *Cal[endar of] T[reasury] B[ooks]*, xxviii. 20. Sometimes it rose to 2 per cent.: *Cal[endar of] T[reasury] B[ooks and] P[apers]*, iii. 39; P.R.O. T. 1/407, fol. 47.

⁹ *Cal[endar of] T[reasury] P[apers]*, vi. 71.

whose firm was to handle this business for three-quarters of a century.¹

The obvious solution to this problem seemed to be that the Receiver should supply the Scottish garrisons with money for pay and subsistence,² taking in return bills on the Paymaster-General in London. Yet despite Treasury support this system never worked well. Sometimes there were too few troops; more often the colonels were tempted by the favourable exchanges to profit by selling their bills to private individuals.³ Checked for a time by the refusal of the Paymaster-General to honour bills other than those payable to the Receiver, the trouble broke out again in the 'forties.⁴ In 1750 Pitt as Paymaster concluded a contract with the Royal Bank by which the Bank was to pay subsistence to the Scottish troops up to £10,000 p.a. and furnish the Receiver with bills on the Bank of England at par. But within a decade even this arrangement was jeopardized by the desire of the Paymasters of the Scottish regiments "to put [the] high exchange in their own pockets".⁵

The association between the Receivers and the Royal Bank of Scotland in this contract is explained by the study of the Receivers' connections.

The first Receiver after the Union (1708-17) was Archibald Douglas of Cavers, hereditary sheriff of Roxburgh, who had been Receiver of Crown Rents and Casualties and other funds before the Union.⁶ His balances were never large,⁷ he was well spoken of by the Scottish Barons,⁸ and (though trusted by Mar and employed in paying pensions to leading Jacobites⁹) he acted

¹ P.R.O. T. 1/191, fol. 84; T. 29/25, fol. 301; T. 27/23, fol. 358.

² *Cal. T.B.* xxvii. 51; xxviii. 150.

³ *Ibid.* xxx. 307; P.R.O. T. 29/25, fol. 301.

⁴ *Cal. T.B.P.* iv. 274, 275, 498; v. 538.

⁵ P.R.O. T.1/407, fols. 22 ff., especially 43-7.

⁶ *H.M.C. R.* 7, pt. ii, *Douglas MSS.*, p. 732; but cf. *Cal. T.P.* iv. 32. For his pay and allowances in this capacity: *Cal. T.B.* xxiii. 225; xxvi. 336; xxviii. 150, 159. He or his namesake was postmaster for Edinburgh, a place which passed to the son. P.R.O. T. 29/26, fol. 20.

⁷ E.g. *C.J.* xvi. 432.

⁸ P.R.O. T. 17/6, fol. 3.

⁹ Cobbett, vii. 14; *H.M.C. Portland MSS.*, x. 311.

loyally with Argyll and Carpenter in 1715.¹ Yet he was not reappointed in 1718. His fall began when he offended the Lord Justice Clerk, Sir Gilbert Elliot (who had been a close friend) and the Earl of Roxburgh by assisting his son to displace the former as M.P. for Roxburghshire; it was completed when Sutherland, then First Lord of the Treasury, condemned him for not quitting the service of the Prince of Wales for whose Scottish Revenues Douglas was Receiver.² Despite pitiful petitions for his place in later years,³ Douglas had little to complain of; for he was granted generous expense allowances, payment of debts and a pension,⁴ and sat in Parliament for Dumfries, 1727-34.

He was succeeded by Elliot's son-in-law, Sir Robert Sinclair (1718-24), and Charles Cathcart (1725-8), a Groom of the Bed-chamber and eighth Lord Cathcart to be. It was Cathcart who began the connection with the Royal Bank, for he was one of the galaxy of administrative personalities numbered among the first nine extraordinary directors.⁵ Clearly the Bank proposed to make the best of official connections in the full knowledge that the handling of public balances offered advantages not likely to be found elsewhere. Cathcart was succeeded by his deputy and nephew Allan Whitefoord⁶ (1729 till his death in 1766). In his time the connection with the Royal Bank was at its closest, for he was chief cashier from the foundation of the Bank in 1727 to his retirement owing to ill-health in 1745. He was then made an ordinary director, and his deputy as land tax Receiver, the ubiquitous George Innes, was appointed cashier. First unofficially, then through the contact with Pitt, the Royal

¹ *H.M.C. R. 7, pt. ii, Douglas MSS.*, p. 732; *H.M.C. Laing MSS.*, ii, 178; *P.R.O. T. 17/6, fol. 2*.

² G. F. S. Elliot, *The Border Elliots* (Edinburgh, 1897), p. 319; *H.M.C. R. 7, pt. ii, Douglas MSS.*, 732.

³ *Ibid.* p. 732; *P.R.O. T. 17/5, fol. 405*; *T. 17/6, fol. 2*.

⁴ *P.R.O. T. 17/6, fols. 4, 105*; *T. 17/8, fol. 155* (cf. *T. 17/12, fol. 416*). *Marchmont Papers*, i. 268. See also *C.J. xix. 490*. Cf. *C.J. xxv. 371*.

⁵ N. Munro, *History of the Royal Bank of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1928), p. 37.

⁶ *Convention Records*, v. 480; *H.M.C. Laing MSS.* ii. 293. Some of the Whitefoords served in the army under Cathcart, and he was a regular correspondent of the family. W. A. S. Hewins, *The Whitefoord Papers* (Oxford, 1898), *passim*; *P.R.O. T. 1/333, fol. 111*.

Bank gained the use of the land tax balances in return for finding bills for the Receiver and paying the Scottish garrisons. More than once this arrangement was threatened, but the Royal Bank could not afford to let the balances slip, and after hard bargaining the contract was renewed on the Treasury's terms in 1764.¹ For the rest of the century the Royal Bank virtually monopolized the land tax remittances.²

Whitefoord's tenure of office was distinguished by his analyses of the law of taxation, his proposals for reform neglected by successive governments, the additional work attaching to the office, and the efforts he and George Innes made to build up a new window tax administration. It was no small feather in his cap that there were no losses on any of the funds under his control in 1745. And it was under him that the problem of expense allowances became serious. Sinclair had had difficulty in obtaining any grant towards administrative expenses like that made to Douglas,³ and Cathcart (perhaps because even in 1766, after his death, his accounts had still not been cleared) had been totally unsuccessful.⁴ Whitefoord received no payment for all his additional work, his nephew, executor and heir, Sir John Whitefoord, paid over his balances promptly, yet he received no expense allowances for eleven years after the Receiver's death, and then only two-thirds of the sum claimed.⁵ The Treasury Board could hardly state more clearly the view that the Receiver must make his living through the use of the balances.

The consequences of this attitude were worked out to the full during the Receivership of John Fordyce (1766-83), a merchant and former director of the Royal Bank.⁶ He was also connected in some way with the Whitefoords, for Sir John was

¹ P.R.O. T. 1/428, fols. 71 ff.; T. 29/36, fol. 220. For interest paid to Fordyce for the use of his balances: *8th Report of Committee on Finance, 1797*, Appendix A 16, p. 65.

² In 1791 the Royal Bank attempted to secure a similar monopoly of Excise remittances. P.R.O. T. 1/708, fols. 68-76.

³ *Cal. T.B.P.* i. 205.

⁴ *Ibid.* ii. 49; iii. 39; P.R.O. T. 17, 11, fol. 255; T. 17, 19, fol. 8.

⁵ P.R.O. T. 1/454, fol. 116; T. 1/469, fol. 286; T. 1/518, fol. 144; T. 17/20, fols. 12, 141; T. 17, 21, fols. 14, 336, 364.

⁶ Munro, *op. cit.* pp. 123-4, 400.

one of his sureties,¹ and they appear to have suffered losses together in the famous collapse of the Ayr Bank in 1772, as did another of Fordyce's sureties, Sir Adam Fergusson.² Whatever Fordyce may have lost in this affair proved no lesson to him either in keeping watch upon his debtors or in conducting his business, for his correspondence gives the impression that he left most of the work to Innes.³ Two successive agents, Douglas and Cockburn, and Ferguson and Murdock, failed with large sums of his money in hand, which Fordyce thought had been paid into the Exchequer; by 1781 his arrears exceeded £100,000, and soon after the Treasury made dilatory moves to replace him by his deputy, Robert Scott Moncrieff.⁴ But Fordyce evaded severe criticism from the Committee on Public Accounts,⁵ and he had powerful friends. Dundas, then Lord Advocate, supported him.⁶ The Scottish Barons were reluctant to proceed against him.⁷ George Dempster M.P. was active on his behalf in London.⁸ Only the failure of a fresh agent brought Fordyce down.⁹

No case could illustrate more clearly how mistaken was the Treasury attitude towards the remuneration of the Scottish Receivers. Fordyce estimated his expenses to the Commission

¹ P.R.O. T. 1/568, fol. 340.

² See the "Ode to Ruin" in J. Ferguson, *Letters of Geo. Dempster to Sir Adam Fergusson, 1756-1813* (London, 1934), p. 302. "Ayton" in the ode is John Fordyce of Ayton, Berwickshire.

³ P.R.O. T. 1/579, fol. 229.

⁴ P.R.O. T. 29/51, fol. 1. He was a director of the Royal Bank, 1806-14. On Fordyce's affairs: P.R.O. T. 29/49, fols. 65, 159, 178; T. 29/50, fols. 72, 236, 304, 380; T. 1/568, fols. 361-3; T. 1/569, fols. 319, 324, 328, 337, 341; T. 1/579, fols. 229-31.

⁵ C.J. xxxviii. 78.

⁶ P.R.O. T. 29/50, fol. 425.

⁷ P.R.O. T. 1/583, fol. 334.

⁸ *Dempster-Fergusson Corr.* pp. 131, 132, 135. "Fordyce's business" left unexplained by the editor, p. 131, n. 1, refers to this collapse.

⁹ He was still not poor; in 1787 he calculated his assets which varied from his estate at Ayton to a share in the Clyde Navigation at £86,400: his debt to the Crown then amounted to £56,000. Dundas pushed him on in the Land Revenue Office where he became Surveyor General and produced plans for the reorganization of Crown property with a view to the advancement of himself and his son. He sat for New Romney, 1796-1802, was active on behalf of the government in Berwickshire politics and unsuccessfully contested the seat of Berwick himself. P.R.O. T. 1/736, fol. 178; T. 1/796, fol. 124; T. 1/798, fol. 167; P.R.O. 30/8/136; *8th Report of Committee on Finance, 1797*, Appendix A 16, p. 66; Appendix A 19, p. 69.

on Public Accounts at £750 p.a. and to the Treasury at £640 p.a.¹ His salary as Receiver of Crown Rents was £650 p.a., subject to tax. The Receiver's only way of paying himself for his labour and his risk was by the use of his balances. Granted complacency on the part of the Tax Office and negligence on that of the Receiver, crashes like that of Fordyce were only too probable. The cost of these errors to the public is illustrated by the fact that on Fordyce's land tax account for 1780 nothing was paid till 1794, and the account was not cleared till 1818.² Yet even the fall of Fordyce taught no lesson to the Tax Office and Treasury.

He was succeeded by the Hon. Keith Stewart (1784 till his death in 1795), a professional sailor who became an admiral during his tenure of office, and was no doubt rewarded with the Receivership for deserting the Government after many years' support as M.P. for Wigtonshire, 1770-84, and speaking with Pitt in the Powell and Bembridge debate.³ This appointment has the appearance of jobbery as much as any carried through by Pitt's predecessors. His arrears accumulated rapidly,⁴ and on his death he was indebted to the Government on various accounts to the tune of well over £100,000. Still worse, his deputies, John and Alexander Gordon, who held the fort from February to September 1795 when a successor was appointed, retired with over £40,000 in hand, half of which had not been paid two years later.⁵

It was only to be expected that the Committee on Finance of 1797 should devote some of their most savage remarks to the situation in Scotland where for fifty years past not a Receiver had quitted office without leaving a mass of debt. For many years the Receivers had constantly retained a balance in hand of £30,000, plus whatever came in in the course of a quarter. This

¹ P.R.O. T. 1/579, fol. 227. Cf. allowances by the Convention: *Convention Records*, vii. 556.

² Register House. Pipe Office. Taxation Accounts. Land Tax, 1780.

³ He was the second son of the 7th Earl of Galloway by his second wife. J. Charnack, *Biographia Navalis*, vi (London, 1798), 47; Sir J. Fortescue, *Correspondence of King Geo. III*, vi (London, 1928), 389.

⁴ House of Commons Library, A. & P. xxvii. 667.

⁵ 8th Report of Committee on Finance, 1797, p. 10.

practice encouraged the collectors to keep their balances, and in 1797 Scotland was over £190,000 in arrear on land and assessed taxes, £50,000 more than the annual assessment. Small wonder that the Committee demanded a "radical cure" and "unremitting attention in the part of the Treasury and of the Tax Office". Their own solution was to assimilate Scottish administration as far as possible to the English pattern.¹

This public criticism provided the occasion for more bad blood between the Barons and the Tax Office. The policy of allowing Receivers to retain large balances, which the Taxes Commissioners had complacently followed for so long, they now condemned.² The Scottish Barons retorted that it had always been clearly understood Treasury policy that the Receiver should keep his perquisite of £30,000 and at the end of each quarter remit whatever sum he held above that figure. In any case the Scottish administration should not be reformed without a special Act, a draft of which they transmitted.³ The willingness of both sides to maintain their hostility, even in the face of public criticism boded little good for the future of Scottish land tax administration.

Epilogue

The Receivers' accounts bring out fully the extent to which the administration had decayed.⁴ In the 'nineties it was normal for much less to be remitted within two years of the annual Land Tax Acts coming into force than Douglas had remitted in one year in 1708. After 1775 nothing ever came in in the financial year for which the money was voted. Something of this was due to the local collectors, but the responsibility of the Receivers is brought out in the astonishing acceleration of Fordyce's payments, 1781-3, after the Tax Office had become aware of the precariousness of his position.⁵

¹ *8th Report of Committee on Finance*, 1797, pp. 8 ff. ; Apps. A 15-21.

² P.R.O. T. 1/793, fols. 355-6.

³ P.R.O. T. 1/799, fols. 372-4.

⁴ Register House, Edinburgh. Pipe Office. Taxation Accounts. Land Tax, 1708-97.

⁵ Percentage of the quota paid within two years: 1778, 2.1; 1779, 2.1; 1780, nil; 1781, 68.7; 1782, 75.1; 1783, 72.7.

Friction between the Tax Office and the Scottish Barons suggested that reform was unlikely to come from direct administrative pressure. Prospects of parliamentary action could not but be dimmed by the display of English peevishness about the Scottish land tax when the proposal came up to found a Scottish militia (which should be paid from the land tax),¹ and by the way the opposition exploited the complaints about the land tax in the burghs in the 'nineties. Nor was the scandal of the exposures of the select committee of 1797 the stimulus to reform as that of the Commissioners' strike on the window duties of 1747 had been. In February 1798 a bill recommended by Pitt "for the more speedy collection and remittance of the land and assessed taxes in Scotland" was not proceeded with.² Pitt had brought a new broom into the administration in England, but proved little more successful than his predecessors in Scotland.

Nor did Pitt face the peculiar problems of the Royal Burghs in preparing his scheme for the redemption of the land tax. In England assessments had been stable for so long that it was equitable to make the current rates perpetual and redeemable. In Scotland, however, as Pitt was warned,³ the Convention had never surrendered its right to redistribute the burgh quota. The amount received upon unfree trade varied. Within individual burghs assessments both on trade and property altered frequently. It was characteristic of the Government's attitude to the Scottish land tax down the century that no special provision was made in the Act for these unusual conditions. In consequence the situation in the burghs went on as before, and over sixty years passed before an Act⁴ provided that wherever there was a surplus on a burgh assessment, it was to be used for the gradual redemption of the burgh quota. How artificial the situation had become was shown in 1896 when by the Agricultural Rates Act the burghs were freed from their land tax quota ;

¹ J. Boswell, *Life of Johnson*, Everyman edn., i. 608 ; Cobbett, xviii. 1228 ; *Convention Records*, vii. 20, 40, 41, 85, 103, 522, 524.

² *Diary and correspondence of Chas. Abbot, Lord Colchester*, i (London, 1861), 136 ; C.J. liii. 291.

³ P.R.O. 30/8/317, "Brief Relative to the Land Tax . . .", Fordyce to Dundas.

⁴ 24 & 25 Vict. c. 91.

in order to preserve the position left unsettled by Pitt's Redemption Act it was provided that the burghs which had partially redeemed their land tax should receive an annual sum equal to the yearly value of the land tax redeemed. This last curious subsidy was perhaps a fitting monument to the ineptness of the land tax legislation which had issued from Westminster ever since 1707. At the terminal dates of this study, the omissions in the Redemption Act are a match for the ambiguities of the Act of Union.

EUMENES OF CARDIA ¹

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THE opening of the Hellenistic Age is a period in which the number of leading characters is unusually, even confusingly, large. Almost all these were Macedonians, but among them was Eumenes, a native of the Greek city of Cardia, whose fortunes in the six and a half years that elapsed between the death of Alexander and his own are more fully recorded than those of any Macedonian. He was neither the most powerful nor the most successful leader of his time, and the reason why relatively abundant information about his actions in these years has survived undoubtedly is that the standard history of the Successors was written by his fellow-townsmen Hieronymus of Cardia, who served under him throughout his campaigns in Asia. It is for the same reason that the careers of Antigonus and Demetrius Poliorcetes, whom Hieronymus subsequently served, are more fully described in extant works dealing with this period than those of their rivals, Ptolemy, Cassander, Seleucus, and Lysimachus. Hieronymus was able to study his successive masters at close quarters, and he enjoyed access to their official documents and confidential correspondence. He evidently made good use of these advantages, and the high quality of his work is clearly visible even through the mediocrity of Diodorus.

How far Hieronymus allowed his historical judgement to be influenced by loyalty to Eumenes, Antigonus, and Demetrius is a question that cannot be determined with any certainty because the surviving fragments of his work are so meagre.² Clearly, however, his work did not consist of propaganda on behalf of his successive employers, and there is reason to believe that his treatment of Antigonus and Demetrius was not wholly

¹ The substance of a lecture delivered in the John Rylands Library on Wednesday, the 5th of May, 1954.

² They are collected in *F Gr Hist* 154, F. 1-19.

sympathetic.¹ There is a different reason why he might have exaggerated both the importance and the ability of Eumenes, namely, that they were both Cardians and may possibly have been related.² It is, however, difficult to imagine how either the importance or the ability of Eumenes could have been greatly exaggerated without blatantly falsifying historical facts, and these facts were well-known to the contemporaries of Hieronymus, especially at the court of the Antigonids. On the other hand, Hieronymus is surely responsible for the fact that the literary tradition is almost wholly favourable towards Eumenes and generally unfavourable towards persons with whom he was in conflict such as Neoptolemus and Peucestas.³ It is possible, though unprovable, that, like Thucydides, he strove to achieve impartiality but failed where his own feelings were deeply stirred. His prejudice may perhaps have taken the form of creating the impression that the motives of Eumenes were invariably unselfish and that he was wholly uninfluenced by personal ambition, a point that will be discussed later. He can scarcely have expressed any opinion on the moral character of Eumenes. Extant literary authorities based largely on his work suggest that he was not much given to passing moral judgements on his characters: his yardsticks were rather ability and the acquisition of power, and he apparently admired unscrupulous and even underhand measures whereby a leader was enabled to get the better of his rivals.⁴

It is in the parts of Diodorus Books xviii to xx dealing with

¹ This problem, as well as the general character of his work, is ably discussed by T. S. Brown, *Amer. Hist. Rev.*, lii (1946-7), 684-96. My own view, which cannot be developed here, is that he believed Antigonos and Demetrius to have failed to gain their major objectives through their own errors of judgement.

² The suggestion that they were related rests solely on the fact that the father of Eumenes bore the name Hieronymus (cf. Brown, *op. cit.* p. 684 with n. 4, who is, however, mistaken in his statement that Eumenes had a son named Hieronymus).

³ It is significant that Diodorus refers with approval to Peucestas at two points, laying emphasis upon his popularity in his satrapy: the first occurs just before his uneasy partnership with Eumenes began (xix. 14. 4-5), the second immediately after it ended (*ibid.* 48, 5). In the intervening narrative he is frequently mentioned with disapproval.

⁴ Cf. for example, Diod. xix. 23-4, Plut. *Eum.* 12. 2-4.

the struggles between the Successors that the work of Hieronymus is most clearly reflected. The chapters describing the last campaign of Eumenes, in which he commanded the army of the "kings" against that of Antigonos, are especially instructive. Here Diodorus achieves a standard perhaps unequalled in any other section of his voluminous history. The narrative is remarkably vivid, showing at many points the hand of an observant and discerning eye-witness, while the detailed accounts of major battles are clearly based on those of a military expert, though Diodorus has been guilty of some omissions.¹ The narrative dealing with the earlier struggles of Eumenes in Asia before he embarked upon his last campaign, though for the most part less detailed, is scarcely less impressive. There is, however, an exception: a part of Book xviii where he describes how Eumenes contrived to escape from an almost desperate situation when besieged at Nora and then unexpectedly found himself more powerful than ever before, is strangely uneven. The reason for the unevenness of these chapters undoubtedly is that at several points Diodorus has followed his source less closely than usual and has chosen to develop his own ideas, as he occasionally does when writing on a subject in which he is especially interested. In this instance the remarkable change in the fortunes of Eumenes provides Diodorus with an opportunity to preach his own uninspired theory of history, namely, that τύχη is fickle and unpredictable.² Nevertheless, even in this part of Book xviii the bulk of the narrative is of good quality and based upon information supplied by Hieronymus, who himself played an important part in the negotiations between Eumenes and Antigonos.³

¹ Cf. the observations of Kahnes and Kromayer in J. Kromayer and G. Veith, *Antike Schlachtfelder*, iv. 3 (1929), 424, on the account of the battle of Paraetacene.

² W.W. Tarn, *Alexander the Great*, ii (1948), 64, describes this theory as "a convenient doctrine which can be invoked to cover any improbability or inconsistency".

³ The clearest examples of passages in Book xviii where Diodorus has temporarily deserted his source are 53. 1-6 (where he recapitulates the career of Eumenes from his appointment as satrap of Cappadocia, stressing his changes of fortune) and 59. 4-6 (where he expounds his own theory). There are, however,

Considerably less valuable is the *Eumenes* of Plutarch, which is also largely, though not exclusively, dependent upon information derived from Hieronymus. It is not among the best of the Lives. The career of Eumenes after the death of Alexander was almost entirely military, and Plutarch, who insists elsewhere that he writes biography and not history, seems to have felt himself handicapped by a dearth of personal anecdote. His first two chapters, dealing with the period before Alexander died, contain some personal detail mostly discreditable to Eumenes. This material can hardly have been derived from Hieronymus because his work is believed to have begun only with the death of Alexander. A story that Eumenes was of poor and humble origin, which Plutarch rejects, is ascribed by him to Duris,¹ whose sensational history may well be the source of other highly suspect stories included in these two chapters. The influence of Duris may also be responsible for the extravagantly rhetorical tone of a few episodes elsewhere in the *Eumenes* which are not mentioned by Diodorus. Examples are the encounter between Eumenes and the dying Craterus² and the address by the former to the Silver Shields after they had betrayed him:³ the authenticity of both is doubtful. That Plutarch was not much attracted by Eumenes, and indeed misjudged him, is clearly seen in the latter part of his *Comparison between Sertorius and Eumenes*:⁴ cleverness in a Greek was in his day regarded with suspicion by many, and with worse than suspicion by Juvenal. What interested him was whether his principal characters were good rather than whether they were able and intelligent, and, as has already been noted, Hieronymus does not seem to have concerned himself much

other references to the fickleness of fortune, and the substance of the passages in which they occur may, in some cases at least, have been contributed by Diodorus himself and not derived from his source (cf. 42. 1-2, which will be discussed below, p. 322).

¹ *Eum.* 1. 1-2.

² *Eum.* 7. 13, cf. Nepos, *Eum.* 4. 4, and Suda, s.v. Κρατερός.

³ *Eum.* 17. 5-18. 2, cf. Justin, xiv. 4. 1-18. R. Schubert, *Die Quellen zur Geschichte der Diadochenzeit* (1914), pp. 204-9, maintains that much of *Eum.* 14-15 is derived from Duris.

⁴ *Comp. Sert. et Eum.* 2. 1-8. The accusation of cowardice in the face of death (2. 8) appears to be false.

with moral issues. Plutarch apparently grew tired of Eumenes : he describes the final campaign in central Asia rather briefly and somehow contrives to omit entirely the great battle of Paraetacene. On earlier events, however, he provides much valuable information not recorded by Diodorus, so that the two most important authorities for the career of Eumenes are conveniently complementary.

Minor authorities supply a few additional points. The *Eumenes* of Nepos is somewhat fuller and better than most of his brief biographies : unlike the *Eumenes* of Plutarch, it strikes no note of censure and is in general agreement with the account of Diodorus. The work of Arrian known as τὰ μετ' Ἀλέξανδρον dealt in considerable detail with a period of little more than two years starting from the death of Alexander, but it survives only in an epitome by Photius and a few fragments,¹ including a recently published papyrus.² In epitomizing the account of Eumenes' career by Trogus contained in Books xiii and xiv of the *Historiae Philippicae* Justin is as inaccurate and as prone to empty rhetoric as elsewhere. Polyaeus includes in his collection of *Stratagems* a few used by Eumenes³ and a few used against him.⁴ A striking feature of these lesser sources is their unanimity : despite minor divergences all present substantially the same picture of Eumenes, which must be that of Hieronymus. This unanimity is evidence of the extent to which his account dominated the literary tradition.

The surviving authorities for the career of Eumenes are in general agreement in differentiating him from most of his principal contemporaries for three main reasons. The first is that he was outstandingly clever, resourceful and persuasive, the second that he was handicapped by being a Greek and not a Macedonian, the third that single-minded loyalty to the

¹ *F Gr Hist* 156 F 1-11, and in vol. ii of the Teubner Arrian (ed. Roos, 1928) pp. 253-86.

² V. Bartoletti, *Papiri greci e latini*, xii. 2 (1950), 1284. The arguments of K. Latte, *Gött. Nach.* (1950), no. 3, pp. 23-7, for assigning the papyrus to Arrian seem to be conclusive.

³ iv. 8. 2-5 (cf. 4. 3, which may be authentic).

⁴ iv. 6. 9-13, 19 (9 contains valuable information not recorded elsewhere).

Macedonian royal house governed his actions. So prominent are these factors in the works discussed above that all three were surely stressed by Hieronymus. The extent of their influence must obviously be considered if the policy and aims of Eumenes are to be fully understood. While all three must be largely authentic, they have been accepted somewhat uncritically in modern times : in the case of the second and third at least, if the character of the evidence be taken into account, important reservations should, in my opinion, be made.

That Eumenes was clever is beyond dispute if there is any truth whatever in the record of his actions.¹ On many occasions the cleverness of his strategy served to counterbalance the weakness or disunity of forces under his command. In the military sphere, however, he was not perhaps more resourceful than Antigonus, who sometimes succeeded in outwitting him.² The advantage that he enjoyed over his contemporaries lay rather in the exercise of diplomatic skill, in exploiting to the full the favourable features of his relations with others and in so working upon their feelings that he was able to implement policies which he had no power to enforce. During his long association with Macedonians he had acquired an unrivalled knowledge of their temperament, which he often used with advantage. These qualities are seen most clearly in the accounts of his last campaign when as supreme commander for the "kings" in Asia he somehow succeeded in holding together as an effective fighting force an army in which the disloyalty, insubordination and contentiousness of officers and men were perhaps unequalled even in the Hellenistic Age. However great his difficulties he always found some expedient whereby he was able to surmount them.

The best and most interesting example of his ingenuity is perhaps his establishment of what is known as the "Alexander tent". Acting on the authority of a dream which he professed to have had, he proposed that the insignia of Alexander should be placed on a golden throne and that daily offerings should be

¹ References to his cleverness and examples of it occur in all the authorities mentioned above ; cf. also the *Heidelberg Epitome* (*F Gr Hist* 155), 3. 1.

² Cf. *Diod.* xix. 26. 5-8 and 32. 1-2.

made by the principal officers, who should then meet in council in the tent in which this cult was observed as though Alexander were himself presiding.¹ Eumenes made this proposal soon after he assumed command of the Silver Shields, who gladly accepted it. The device proved very valuable when union with the forces of the eastern satraps had enlarged his army but at the same time intensified its discord. He was able to mitigate some causes of friction, including that of his own appointment as supreme commander. To entrust to a committee the direction of operations by an army in the field has obvious drawbacks. Eumenes seems normally to have secured the adoption of his own plans, but in one important and perhaps decisive instance he did not, namely, when the eastern satraps refused to agree to his proposal to march down to the Mediterranean coast.² Nevertheless the "Alexander tent" was a brilliant conception, and without it the end would probably have come much sooner. On a subsequent occasion, shortly before the battle of Paraetacene, Eumenes showed psychological insight in telling his Macedonian troops a rather childish fable. Other audiences might well have felt insulted, especially as the fable is not even entirely apposite, but Eumenes rightly foresaw its effect upon his Macedonians, who received it with acclamation.³

It may be that Hieronymus somewhat overstressed the cleverness of Eumenes. In the course of his long life he must often have heard Macedonians expressing their claim to be superior to Greeks; perhaps deriving some satisfaction from recording episodes in which Macedonians were outwitted by a Greek, he may unconsciously have allowed such episodes to assume in his work a greater prominence than their importance warranted. It is also easy to believe that, because Hieronymus was personally involved in the difficulties which beset Eumenes, he may have exaggerated them and correspondingly over-estimated the cleverness of Eumenes in extricating

¹ Diod. xviii. 60. 4-61. 3, xix. 15. 3-4; Plut. *Eum.* 13. 4-8; Nepos, *Eum.* 7. 2-3; Polyæn. iv. 8. 2. M. Launey, *Recherches sur les armées hellénistiques*, ii (1950), 945-7, points out that this military cult has no parallel in the age of the Successors.

² Diod. xix. 21. 1-2.

³ Diod. xix. 25. 4-7.

himself. There is, however, no doubt that in this respect the general impression created by the extant sources is authentic.

References to the disadvantage suffered by Eumenes in being a Greek and not a Macedonian are much fewer than those to his cleverness. This disadvantage is, however, mentioned in a number of different connections by Diodorus, Plutarch, and Nepos,¹ and at least some of these passages are surely derived ultimately from Hieronymus. How far it was open to the ablest Greeks to compete with leading Macedonians in the first years of the Hellenistic Age is an interesting question. Alexander had normally made appointments involving the command of troops from Macedonians alone, but it was his practice to judge men by their quality rather than their nationality, and a few Greeks were included among his Companions and most favoured subordinates. Examples are the Cretan Nearchus,² distinguished both as admiral and writer, and the Thessalian Medeios,³ a very intimate friend of Alexander in the last months of his life. Medeios subsequently commanded some mercenaries for Perdiccas, and both served under Antigonus and Demetrius, but neither attained the position to which his close relations with Alexander might seem to have entitled him. Several lesser Greeks who had served under Alexander are known to have played a part in the struggles that followed his death without securing any significant advancement.⁴ These examples might seem to show that it was impossible for any Greek to break down the jealous exclusiveness of the Macedonians. Yet Eumenes was not the only Greek entrusted with a satrapy after the death of Alexander. Laomedon of Mitylene was appointed to the satrapy of Syria, which he held until his expulsion about three years later.⁵ A Cypriot from

¹ Diod. xviii. 60. 1 and 3, 62. 7, xix. 13. 1; Plut. *Eum.* 3. 1 and 8. 1 (cf. 18. 2, where the Silver Shields are said to have referred to him as *Χερρονησίτης ὀλεθρος*); Nepos, *Eum.* 1. 2-3 and 7. 1.

² H. Berve, *R.E.* xvi (1935), cols. 2132-5.

³ F. Geyer, *R.E.* xv (1931), cols. 103-4.

⁴ Examples are Aeschylus of Rhodes (H. Berve, *Das Alexanderreich*, ii (1926), 17) and Andronicus of Olynthus (ibid. pp. 39-40).

⁵ E. Bux, *R.E.* xii (1924), cols. 756-7 (the longer of two articles devoted to the same person).

Soloi named Stasanor, who had been in charge of Areia and Drangiana, two of the eastern satrapies, before Alexander died, had his appointment confirmed, and when after two years he was transferred to Bactria and Sogdiana, his successor was Stasander, also a Cypriot and perhaps his relative.¹ The most striking case is that of Lysimachus, satrap and eventually king of Thrace. There is no adequate reason for rejecting the tradition that his father was a Thessalian who migrated to Macedonia. It is true that some authorities describe him as a Macedonian and a citizen of Pella, but citizenship was doubtless conferred upon his father while living at the Macedonian court.² Of these Greeks entrusted with satrapies, Eumenes, Laomedon, and Lysimachus—as well as Nearchus, who had been satrap of Lycia and Pamphylia for a time when Alexander was alive—are all known to have lived in Macedonia for a number of years.³ Hence it is clear that such naturalized Macedonians, as they may be termed, were granted a privileged status not enjoyed by other Greeks and were much less sharply differentiated from native Macedonians because their loyalty was believed to have been proved.⁴

For any Greek to have attempted to usurp the throne of Macedonia by sweeping aside the “kings”, an ambition imputed rightly or wrongly to Leonnatus, Perdiccas, and Antigonus, would have been an act of folly doomed to failure from the outset. A king of Macedonia had to have his succession to the throne formally recognized by the general assembly of the army,⁵ and the attitude of the Silver Shields towards Eumenes shows that Macedonians would not, at any rate, at this time, have contemplated accepting a Greek as their king. To this extent Eumenes was undoubtedly in a different position from

¹ E. Honigmann, *R.E.* iii A (1929), cols. 2152-3 (on Stasanor); K. Fiehn, *ibid.* col. 2152 (on Stasander).

² F. Geyer, *R.E.* xiv (1928), col. 1.

³ Laomedon and Nearchus lived at Amphipolis which became a Macedonian city after its annexation by Philip.

⁴ Stasanor was evidently a man of outstanding ability, but it is not altogether clear why he and Stasander were singled out for appointment to satrapies.

⁵ F. Granier, *Die makedonische Heeresversammlung* (1931), p. 15; W. W. Tarn and G. T. Griffith, *Hellenistic Civilisation* ³ (1952), p. 47.

that of his Macedonian contemporaries, to this extent the limits of his potential advancement were circumscribed.¹ On the other hand, there is no justification for assuming that a Greek so long and so intimately associated with the Macedonian court as he had been was automatically disqualified by his origin from competing with Macedonians for responsible positions conferring a substantial measure of independent authority. Polyperchon actually proposed that Eumenes should participate with himself in the guardianship of the "kings".²

It is therefore somewhat surprising to find so much emphasis laid on the disadvantage suffered by Eumenes in being a Greek. It might be suggested that Hieronymus, who served the house of Antigonos for three generations without attaining high distinction except as a historian, believed himself and other Greeks to have been unjustly denied advancement because of their nationality. Hieronymus can, however, scarcely have invented episodes mentioned in some of the passages cited above³ from which the Greek origin of Eumenes is seen to have been an important issue in his own lifetime. His enemies are stated to have used it as an instrument of propaganda when seeking to undermine the loyalty of his Macedonian troops.⁴ Even more significant are two passages in which Eumenes is said to have referred in public utterances to the consequences of being a Greek. According to Plutarch he declared, when acting as negotiator between the cavalry and the infantry at Babylon, that "being a foreigner he had no right to interfere in the disputes of Macedonians".⁵ Diodorus attributes to him a statement made apparently in the speech in which he proposed the establishment of the "Alexander tent", that he could "expect no position of authority (*ἀρχή*) because he was a foreigner and debarred from the powers native to the Macedonians".⁶ If these statements are authentic, Eumenes with characteristic adroitness took advantage of a handicap. A later passage of Diodorus points in the same direction. When

¹ Cf. Diod. xviii. 60. 1.

² Diod. xviii. 57. 3 (cf. Plut. *Eum.* 13. 1 for a similar suggestion by Olympias).

³ See above, p. 316, n. 1.

⁴ Diod. xix. 13. 1, cf. Nepos, *Eum.* 7. 1.

⁵ Plut. *Eum.* 3. 1.

⁶ Diod. xviii. 60. 3.

Antigonus tried to bribe Antigenes and Teutamus, the commanders of the Silver Shields, to betray Eumenes, Teutamus was ready to accept until Antigenes persuaded him to change his mind by arguing that, whereas Antigonus would deprive them both of their satrapies, Eumenes would treat them generously "because being a foreigner he would never dare to pursue his own interest (*ἰδιοπραγῆσαι*)".¹ It is remarkable that the substance of this secret conversation should have become known even to Hieronymus, especially as Antigenes was executed immediately after the battle of Gabiene.² The most probable explanation seems to be that Antigenes disclosed the treacherous intentions of Teutamus to Eumenes, who then suggested the cogent argument whereby Antigenes successfully appealed to the self-interest of his colleague.

It is thus perhaps legitimate to conclude that Eumenes in his lifetime and Hieronymus after his death were somewhat disingenuous in stressing the handicap imposed by his Greek birth, which debarred him only from the pursuit of ambitions that he had no right to pursue. Exaggeration of this handicap seems to have proved useful to Eumenes by helping him to allay the jealousy of his Macedonian rivals and to secure obedience from those under his command, while Hieronymus was perhaps enabled thereby to represent Eumenes as more unselfish than he actually was.³

That Eumenes was exceptionally loyal to the royal house of Macedonia is mentioned in a number of passages⁴ and is very frequently implied. His loyalty is a cardinal assumption throughout the detailed narrative of Diodorus describing his last campaign against Antigonus. In modern times it has

¹ Diod. xviii. 62. 4-7.

² Diod. xix. 44. 1.

³ The view of A. Vezin, *Eumenes von Kardien* (1907), pp. 125-6, that the ultimate failure of Eumenes was due to his Greek birth seems to me to be based on an insufficiently critical acceptance of the impression created by the sources.

⁴ Specific references are : Diod. xviii. 53. 7, 57. 4, 58. 4 ; xix. 42. 5, 44. 2 ; Plut. *Eum.* 1. 4 ; Nepos, *Eum.* 6. 5 ; *Heidelberg Epitome* (*F Gr Hist* 155), 3. 1-2. Diod. xviii. 29. 2, 42.2, and Plut. *Eum.* 5. 8, refer more generally to the trustworthiness of Eumenes, while Nepos, *Eum.* 3. 1 stresses his fidelity towards Perdikkas (who was, however, at this time in charge of the "kings").

evoked even more admiration than his military talents or diplomatic skill,¹ and with good reason. It is not my intention to deny either that he was loyal or that his loyalty was admirable. The confidence in him felt by members of the royal house is attested by the summary of a letter written to him by the masterful Olympias in which she described him as the most faithful of her friends and asked him to advise her.² It does, however, seem legitimate to question whether his aim was at all times solely to promote the interest of the royal house and whether he was wholly indifferent to his own prospects except as its servant. Decisions made by him both before and after the death of Perdiccas suggest that these doubts are not unwarranted.

When Perdiccas left him to defend Asia Minor against the invading army of Antipater and Craterus, they sent an embassy to invite him to change sides and join them. This offer he rejected, making a counterproposal that he should negotiate a reconciliation between Craterus and Perdiccas. Now Antipater, Craterus and Ptolemy had taken up arms against Perdiccas on the ground that he was plotting to usurp the throne. The validity of this charge, as well as the legal status of Perdiccas at this time, is uncertain. It may be that, because Perdiccas had the "kings" in his charge, Eumenes felt himself obliged to carry out his orders faithfully.³ Yet of all the leading Macedonians Antipater and Craterus were the most obviously loyal to the royal house and the least suspected of harbouring personal ambitions. It is also clear that, had Eumenes accepted their offer, he would have had his satrapy enlarged but would have lost what was virtually an independent command. Strangely enough, the account of these negotiations by Plutarch, who alone records them in any detail,⁴ contains no mention of the "kings", whereas much is made of the personal ermyty

¹ Cf. Vezin, *op. cit.* p. 126, and the brief but eloquent tribute of Tarn, *C.A.H.* vi (1927), 479-80.

² Diod. xviii. 58. 2-3, cf. Nepos, *Eum.* 6. 1-4 and Plut. *Eum.* 13. 1. Hieronymus must have seen this letter. The negotiations between Eumenes and Cleopatra, the sister of Alexander, show that she too trusted him (Arrian (*F Gr Hist* 156), F 9. 21 and 26, 10. 7-10, 11. 40, cf. Plut. *Eum.* 8. 6-7 and Justin, xiv. 1. 7).

³ Cf. Nepos, *Eum.* 3. 1.

⁴ *Eum.* 5. 6-8, cf. Arrian F 9. 26.

between Eumenes and Antipater and the personal friendship between Eumenes and Craterus.

More significant than this episode, which may have been inaccurately transmitted, is the fact that from the death of Perdiccas to that of Antipater, a period of nearly two years, Eumenes was actually fighting against the forces of the "kings". It is arguable that he had no choice. He had been sentenced to death by the assembly of the Macedonian army, which held him responsible for the death of the popular Craterus, and he was a personal enemy of Antipater, now regent and more powerful than any other Macedonian leader. The actions of Eumenes at this time are inadequately recorded and their motives obscure. Presumably he maintained that the "kings" had been illegally entrusted to Antipater and that it was his duty to fight for the restoration of the position as it had stood before the fall of Perdiccas.¹ There was, however, very little hope of achieving this aim, especially as the surviving adherents of Perdiccas were disunited. Alcetas, the brother of Perdiccas, and other leaders persisted in their refusal to co-operate with Eumenes, whose own forces, though large, were unlikely to, and in fact did not, fight wholeheartedly for a cause that was meaningless to them. If Eumenes had been willing to subordinate all other considerations to the interests of the royal house, which would certainly be damaged by further bloodshed, he could have surrendered unconditionally and faced the consequences. Alternatively, he could have sought to secure the cancellation of the death sentence passed on him by undertaking to put himself and his troops at the disposal of the "kings". He did neither.

That the opening of negotiations with his enemies at this stage might well have led to a settlement is shown by subsequent events. When his position had been much weakened by his defeat at Orcynia, which cost him the loss of almost all his forces, and he had taken refuge with the remainder in the fortress of Nora, Antigonus made overtures to him as soon as measures

¹ His attempt to win the support of Cleopatra (Arrian F 11. 40) seems to indicate that he claimed to be still in the service of the royal house.

for establishing a blockade had been completed.¹ Diodorus declares that Antigonus, being now in control of the most powerful army in Asia, was already pursuing personal ambitions on a very large scale and was no longer content to obey the "kings" and Antipater.² It is, however, highly questionable whether at this stage, while Antipater was still alive, Antigonus had already formed plans to defy the central authority and make himself independent.³ The attitude of Eumenes in making demands that virtually amounted to a rejection of the offer was probably adopted because he was unwilling to become a mere servant of Antigonus and not because he suspected him of disloyalty to the "kings".⁴ Later, when Antigonus again sought a settlement, the position had changed: Antipater was dead, the authority of the new regent Polyperchon was most insecure, and the surviving supporters of Perdiccas had been eliminated. Hence it is rather more likely, though by no means certain, that on this occasion Eumenes evaded the conclusion of an agreement because he was convinced that Antigonus was disloyal to the royal house.⁵ The significant fact remains that none of the attempts made by his opponents to come to terms with him led to the conclusion of a peaceful settlement.

¹ Diod. xviii. 41. 6-7; Plut. *Eum.* 10. 3-8.

² Diod. xviii. 41. 4-5.

³ P. Cloché, *Mélanges Charles Picard*, i (1949), 189-90. The ambitious plans of Antigonus are mentioned only at a later stage by Plutarch (*Eum.* 12. 1).

⁴ Some observations of Diodorus on the general aims of Eumenes at this juncture (xviii. 42. 1-2) are highly suspect. They are incompatible with a later passage (see the next note), and the implication that Eumenes was ready to sell his services to the highest bidder conflicts with the picture of him drawn by the narrative of Diodorus. If he had felt as he is said to have felt, he would surely have accepted without hesitation the terms offered by Antigonus. The sentiments here attributed to Eumenes foreshadow the subsequent homilies on the mutability of fortune which, as stated above (p. 311), are almost certainly original contributions by Diodorus himself. This passage also is very probably the fruit of his own surmise and not adapted from material supplied by his source.

⁵ Diod. xviii. 50. 1-4; Plut. *Eum.* 12. 1-2. It is noteworthy that Hieronymus communicated the proposals of Antigonus to Eumenes on this occasion. A passage in which Diodorus (xviii. 58. 4) further discusses the reasons why Eumenes refused to listen to Antigonus is very probably derived from Hieronymus. It stresses the devotion of Eumenes to the cause of the infant Alexander and, unlike the passage mentioned in the previous note, is in entire harmony with the general impression created by the narrative.

During the first years after the death of Alexander most Macedonians and many Greeks in Macedonian service evidently desired that the Empire should be held together under the Argead house and that the young Alexander IV should, when he came of age, succeed to the heritage of his father.¹ Loyalty to the memory of Alexander remained strong, as is shown by the success of the "Alexander tent", but self-interest probably exerted an even more powerful influence in favour of maintaining unity under the royal house. The Macedonian rank and file, because they had become professionals, were normally willing to serve anyone who could offer them generous terms and opportunities of winning booty. Often, however, they showed a disinclination to fight each other and evidently much preferred to be left to garrison the conquests of Alexander. The lesser nobles in charge of the smaller or more remote satrapies, who, like the satraps of the Persian Empire, enjoyed a considerable measure of independence, were more likely to be left undisturbed if the Empire were to remain united under the royal house and therefore favoured the maintenance of unity. Hence the cause of the royal house was not inevitably doomed from the outset. On the other hand, the extreme weakness of this cause was manifest, threatened as it was by the ambitions and jealousies of the greater Macedonian leaders. This threat was very grave indeed: it came not only from those believed to be aiming at the establishment of a personal sovereignty over the Empire as a whole but also, perhaps even more acutely, from those who, like Ptolemy, pursued limited objectives and sought for themselves separate and independent kingdoms in a dismembered Empire. While their numbers were small, these men controlled vast resources and enjoyed the enormous power that the principal barons always have enjoyed under a feudal system when the monarchy has been virtually in abeyance. None of them could hope to achieve his ambition if the boy Alexander were allowed to grow to manhood, and he lived to the age of about thirteen only because while a minor he was a

¹ The half-witted and illegitimate Philip Arrhidaeus, the nominee of the infantry, was a mere stop-gap, who would doubtless have been eliminated or ignored.

useful pawn and because even the most unscrupulous Successors hesitated to incur the odium of having put him to death.

These considerations must have been fully appreciated by the clear-sighted and experienced Eumenes. Was he then content to expose himself to endless perils and trials, especially when as supreme commander in Asia he was in constant danger of betrayal, solely for the sake of the rather slender chance that young Alexander might become master of a united empire? The impression created by the history of Hieronymus seems to have been that he was. Hieronymus, however, for all his merits cannot be considered to be a wholly impartial witness, and the remarkable decisions of Eumenes mentioned above provide some grounds for believing that he constantly kept in mind the problem of his own future if, as was likely, the Empire were to break up.

The leaders of the cavalry in the dispute with the infantry at Babylon immediately after the death of Alexander are listed by Arrian in two categories.¹ The first consists of Perdiccas, Leonnatus, and Ptolemy; the second, containing the names of five leaders who ranked after these three, includes Eumenes. Although some important personalities were not at Babylon, the passage provides evidence of the status enjoyed by Eumenes in relation to other leaders when Alexander died.² The record of his actions, at any rate not from the point at which the challenge to the authority of Perdiccas brought the first clash of arms, shows how determined he was to maintain this position. If the Empire had remained united under the royal house and Alexander IV had grown to manhood, Eumenes would have had strong claims to be ranked among the principal subordinates of the young king on the same footing as the foremost Macedonians. Whatever the outcome, however, he was evidently not content, as Nearchus and other Greeks seem to have been, to become merely the tool of another's ambition. He could

¹ F 1. 2.

² It might be argued that the inclusion of Eumenes is due to the bias of Hieronymus (Jacoby, n. ad loc.), but he had been appointed to a *hipparchy* by Alexander and was not obviously unworthy to be classed with Lysimachus and Seleucus.

at almost any time have secured an honourable but subordinate command, with plenty of scope for the exercise of his talents, under one of the leading Macedonians whose equals he had been when Alexander died, but he was adamant in refusing agreements whereby he would have found himself committed to an inferior position of this kind.¹ Had the regency collapsed before his own death, he would certainly have competed with other leaders for the independent kingdoms into which a dismembered Empire would naturally fall. Macedonian troops were not likely to fight wholeheartedly for a Greek, but the limitations of Macedonian manpower were becoming evident, and increasing numbers of Greeks and even Asiatics were being armed and trained in the Macedonian style.² Eumenes himself showed, when he built up an effective force of Cappadocian horse soon after assuming control of his satrapy, that Asia Minor could produce cavalry of high quality.³

What Eumenes planned to do in a situation which, partly through his own efforts to avert it, arose only when he was dead can only be guessed. There is, however, one curious feature of his relations with the regent Polyperchon which is perhaps to be explained on the assumption that he was believed to have personal aims of the kind tentatively suggested above. When he was appointed supreme commander in Asia, the sentence of death passed on him after the fall of Perdiccas was not annulled.⁴ It seriously weakened his authority, being used by his enemies in attempts to undermine the loyalty of his troops,⁵ and eventually it enabled Antigonos to have him put to death with some semblance of legality. The omission of Polyperchon to have the sentence annulled can scarcely have been a mere oversight: even if he failed to appreciate that his appointment of Eumenes as supreme commander in Asia did not automatically

¹ Cf. the severe and somewhat unjust criticisms of Plut. *Comp. Sert. et Eum.*

2. 3-5.

² G. T. Griffith, *Mercenaries of the Hellenistic World* (1935), pp. 40-2.

³ Plut. *Eum.* 4. 4-4, cf. Diod. xviii. 29. 3 and 30. 1.

⁴ According to Diodorus (xviii. 59. 4, the principal passage on the fickleness of fortune) the Macedonians "forgot" their condemnation of him.

⁵ Diod. xviii. 62. 1 and xix. 12. 1-2 (also apparently Diod. xviii. 63. 2 and Plut. *Eum.* 8. 11).

cancel the death sentence passed by the army, Eumenes must surely have claimed to be absolved from all charges, a claim that he made in his negotiations with Antigonus at Nora.¹ No explanation of this strange omission on the part of Polyperchon seems to have been offered in modern times.² It may be that he deliberately refrained from taking steps to have the death sentence annulled because he saw in it a valuable means of maintaining his own authority and of curbing any attempt by Eumenes to make himself undesirably independent.³

If there is any validity in the suggestions made in this paper, the traditional picture of Eumenes should be somewhat modified. There is, however, much to admire in the part that he played in the struggles between the Successors during the last years of his life, especially after his appointment as supreme commander for the "kings" in Asia. He was essentially a realist, and in the many difficult situations in which he was involved he showed a remarkable sense of what was practicable. He determined what his policy should be and pursued it with undaunted persistence. Few of his Macedonian contemporaries seem to have understood the altered world in which they found themselves. They had acquired vast power too rapidly. A few decades earlier Macedonia had been a feudal backwater, and not many Macedonians had crossed its frontiers. When the dominating personality of Alexander was suddenly removed, the Macedonian nobles instinctively reverted to the traditional practice of their ancestors, who, whenever the monarchy was weak, had tended to disrupt the unity of the kingdom by self-

¹ Diod. xviii. 41. 7.

² The literary tradition is very unsympathetic towards Polyperchon—possibly because Hieronymus considered that he had given insufficient support to Eumenes—but his decree recalling Greek exiles (Diod. xviii. 56) was a shrewd move, and perhaps he was abler than is generally believed.

³ In discussing the loyalty of Eumenes to the royal house I have not taken into account the fact that in the spring of 317 he appears to have lost his status as supreme commander in Asia because Polyperchon was deposed by a decree issued in the name of Philip Arrhidaeus (Justin, xiv. 5. 1-3, discussed by H. Bengtson, *Die Strategie in der hellenistischen Zeit*, i (1937), 87-8 and 110-11). Even if Eumenes received a clear picture of the confused situation in Macedonia, which is doubtful, he must have refused to recognize the regency of Cassander: his loyalty was to Olympias and the legitimate branch of the royal house.

seeking turbulence and intrigue. It is not surprising that the Successors strove for the prizes of empire without appreciating its responsibilities, that they succumbed so easily and so short-sightedly to the lure of personal ambition. The fault lay less in their national character than in the limitations of their political experience. Although Eumenes was probably less indifferent to his own interests than Hieronymus seems to have allowed, he did differ from most of the leading Macedonians in being less easily corrupted and therefore more loyal to the house of Alexander. One reason may have been that, as has already been pointed out, the highest prize of all was not open to him. A stronger reason, however, was that he enjoyed the very great advantage of having been born and brought up in the politically and intellectually more advanced atmosphere of a Greek city-state.

MAGNIFICAT AND BENEDICTUS—MACCABAEAN PSALMS?

By PAUL WINTER

IN a forthcoming study on *The Origins and Composition of the Lucan Nativity and Infancy Narrative* I advance for consideration the view that Luke i. 46b-55 (Magnificat) and Luke i. 68-75 (first part of Benedictus) are Maccabaeen war songs which found their place in the Third Gospel by way of a Jewish-Christian (Nazarene) adaptation of the "Baptist Document", i.e. a first century literary record emanating from the circle of followers of John the Baptist and dealing with John's birth. The language of these writings was Hebrew.

The present paper will not deal with the complex problem of how the two songs were modified to the use to which they were put by successive writers, but will deal exclusively with the songs themselves and with their original character and function.

Our knowledge of post-canonical Hebrew poetry is incomplete. That being so we do not sufficiently appreciate the fact that the generation of Jews who were living in Palestine in New Testament times possessed a much fuller knowledge of the literature in question than we do. Post-canonical Hebrew poetry from the second century B.C. was known, and was still remembered by Jews in the first, and even in the second, century of our era. This fact may be illustrated by comparing fragments of Hebrew songs from 1 Maccabees with poems from 4 Ezra and 2 Baruch.

Amongst the lyrics that are interspersed in the narrative account of the First Book of Maccabees we read :

- 1 Macc. ii. 9 . . . her vessels of glory were carried away into captivity,
Her infants are slain in the streets,
Her young men by the enemy's sword.
10 What nation has not inherited her palaces
And gotten possession of her spoils?
11 Her adorning is all taken away :
Instead of a free woman she is become a slave.

- 1 Macc. ii. 12 Behold, our holy things and our beauty and our glory
are laid waste
And the Gentiles have profaned them.
- 13 Why should we live any longer?
- 1 Macc. iii. 45 And Jerusalem was without inhabitant as a desert,
There was none of her sons that went in and went out,
And the sanctuary trodden down, and the sons of strangers
in the citadel—
The Gentiles lodged therein.
And joy was taken away from Jacob
And the pipe and the harp ceased.¹

We compare these poems from the time of Antiochus IV Epiphanes with the dirges composed after the destruction of the Temple by Titus Flavius.

- 4 Ezra x. 21-3 . . . thou seest
Our sanctuary laid waste
Our altar trodden down
Our Temple destroyed,
Our harp is laid low
Our song is silenced
Our rejoicing has ceased,
The light of our lamp is extinguished
The Ark of our Covenant spoiled
Our holy things defiled,
The name that is called upon us is profaned.
Our nobles are dishonoured
Our priests burnt
Our levites gone into captivity,
Our virgins are defiled
Our wives ravished,
Our righteous are seized,
Our children are cast out
Our youths enslaved
Our heroes made powerless—
And what is more than all :
Sion's seal is now sealed up dishonoured
And given into the hands of them that hate us.
- 2 Bar. x. 6 Blessed is he who was not born,
Or he, who having been born, has died.
- 7 But for us who live—woe unto us
Because we have seen the affliction of Sion
And what has befallen Jerusalem.

¹ The translations of this and the following poems are, with negligible alterations, those of the Revised Version, of George Herbert Box and of Robert Henry Charles.

- 2 Bar. x. 8 I will call the Sirens from the sea,
 And ye, Lilin, come ye from the desert,
 And ye, Shedim and dragons from the forest :
 Awake, and gird up your loins unto mourning,
 And take up with me the dirges
 And make lamentation with me.
- 9 Ye husbandmen, sow not again !
 And, oh earth, why givest thou thy harvest fruits?
 Keep within thee the sweets of thy sustenance !
- 10 And thou, vine, why further dost thou give thy wine ?—
 For no offering will again be made therefrom in Sion,
 Nor will first fruits again be offered.
- 11 And ye, oh heavens, withhold your dew
 And open not the treasures of rain !
- 12 And do thou, oh sun, withhold the light of thy rays,
 And do thou, oh moon, extinguish the multitude of thy light !—
 For why should light rise again
 When the light of Sion is darkened?

Nothing perhaps shows the profound change in the attitude to life which the writers of these songs and those for whom the songs were written had undergone than the cry "Why should we live any longer?" The belief that fecundity in women was a sign of God's special grace is turned into its opposite. It is one of the rare moments in the history of Jewish thought when despair prevails over hope. The last barrier of defence of an immensely proud soul is broken ; for a moment it looks as if even the perennial optimism of the Judaic spirit that makes Jews so exceptionally unsuited for the tragic fate of their race could not stand up against such catastrophe.

- 2 Bar. x. 13 . . . ye bridegrooms, enter not in,
 And let not the brides adorn themselves with garlands,
 And, ye women, pray not that ye may bear !

For the barren shall above all rejoice
 And those who have no sons shall be glad ;
 Those who have sons shall have anguish.
 For why should they bear in pain
 Only to bury in grief?
 Or why, again, should mankind have sons? . . .
 From this time, speak no more of beauty
 And talk not of gracefulness.

.

2 Bar. xi. 2 . . . the grief is infinite,
The lamentation measureless,

Oh YHWH, how couldst thou have borne it !

The similarity, from a Jewish point of view, of the situations in the year 168-167 B.C. and the year A.D. 70-1 is great, and it is understandable that Jewish writers, writing of these events, would have found similar expressions to describe them. It is not contended here that the passages in 4 Ezra and 2 Baruch are merely a recast of the songs of which 1 Maccabees preserves fragments. The dirges in the works of the later writers are new, they are more highly elaborate, much less direct in their expression of grief—yet the pattern which they follow is that of the older poem. In the threnodies in 4 Ezra and 2 Baruch pervades an echo of a Hebrew song of Maccabaeian times and there is no mistaking it.

Philo describes in *De Vita Contemplativa* an assembly of the sect of Therapeutae and the proceedings which followed upon an exegetic discourse on Scripture passages. "When the president thinks he has discoursed enough . . . applause arises showing a general pleasure in the prospect of what is still to follow. Then the president rises and sings a hymn composed as an address to God, either a new one of his own composition or an old one by poets of an earlier day who have left behind them hymns in many measures and melodies, hexameters and iambics, lyrics suitable for processions or in libations and at the altars, or for the chorus whilst standing or dancing, with careful metrical arrangements to fit the various evolutions. After him all the others take their turn . . . in the proper order while all the rest listen in complete silence except when they have to chant the closing lines or refrains, for then they all lift up their voices, men and women alike."¹ When individual members of the congregation have finished their solo recitals, then "they rise up all together and . . . form themselves into two choirs, one of men and one of women, the leader and precentor chosen for each being the most honoured amongst them and also the

¹ *De Vita Contemplativa*, x (ll. 79, 80). I quote from Colson-Whitaker, vol. ix, pp. 160-3.

most musical. Then they sing hymns to God composed of many measures and set to many melodies. . . ."¹

We have here a description of social activities amongst Jews from the age of John the Baptist and Jesus of Nazareth. It is certainly not taking too great liberty with Philo's record if we assume that the programme of a gathering as that described here was little different whether the persons who took part in it belonged to "orthodox" or sectarian groups.

In *De Agricultura* we have another instance where the use of a men's choir and women's choir, each with its respective precentor, is recorded. The leader of the men's choir is symbolically called "Moses", the leader of the women's choir "Miryam". The song which the two choirs alternately chant is here the psalm Exodus xv. 1b-18—indeed a very ancient example of Hebrew martial poetry. The congregation "sing to God, the giver of victory . . . with answering note they raise harmonious chant".²

Assemblies of Palestinian Jews in the first decades of the first century had a variety of purposes and covered the whole normal range of the nation's life. It would be unwarranted to assume that all such social gatherings had a principally religious character. It would be equally unwarranted to assume that the selection of hymns which were sung on such occasions was limited in choice to those that have been collected in canonical Psalms. Our knowledge of the subject has been greatly enriched by the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls. The "Hymns of Praise (or Thanksgiving)" are examples of post-canonical Hebrew psalms that were in circulation amongst a Jewish public in Palestine. These hymns are not specifically battle songs, but information on such comes forward in the "Wars of the Children of Light against the Children of Darkness"³ where

¹ *De Vita Contemplativa*, xi (ll. 83, 84); Colson-Whitaker, vol. ix, pp. 164-5. The hymn sung by the whole company together was a martial lyric; the contrast τοῖς μὲν σωτηρίας αἴτιον, τοῖς δὲ πανωλεθρίας is beautifully exemplified by the lines Luke i. 51-3 in the Magnificat.

² *De Agricultura*, xvii (l. 79); Colson-Whitaker, vol. iii, pp. 146-9.

³ Eleazar Lipa Suqeniq, *Megillōth Genūzōth*, vol. i (Jerusalem, 1948), p. 19. An example of one such battle hymn is given in *Megillōth Genūzōth*, vol. ii (Jerusalem, 1950), Pl. XI.

we read that songs of praise were sung by Jewish warriors after their victorious return from battle. The information is not actually new; the custom is attested in 1 Maccabees iv. 24.¹ The point that is of specific interest to us in connection with our query is the form and the contents of the re-appeared Hymns of Praises: they are a mosaic of biblical phrases exactly in the same vein as the Magnificat and Benedictus.

In both songs from the first chapter of the Third Gospel, the Magnificat and the Benedictus, there is hardly a turn of speech and certainly not a single thought not to be found in older Hebrew poetry. Pleasing as the poems are, they are no more than centos of older literary production. When we compare the two hymns with the psalm in 1 Chronicles xvi. 8-36, we are able to recognize that the same principle has been at work in both places: they are pieced together from a variety of older poetic records. The comparison is worthwhile; not only is the working method of the author (or authors) of the hymns in Luke i. identical with the working method of the "author" of the psalm in 1 Chronicles xvi. 8-36, but we discover a marked predilection for the same range of ideas. The taste of the compilers is similar. Comparison will show this:

Luke i.	1 Chronicles xvi.
46b	23
47	10b, 35a
49a	9b, 12
49b	10a, 35
50	36b
51a	11, 24, 27, 28b
53	21b
52, 54	19-21a
68	36a
69b	13
72	34
73	15-17
	etc.

Here as there we are dealing with a collection and agglutination of remembered passages from older Hebrew poetry. The literary taste of the writers in selecting their material and connecting it into consecutive clauses is remarkably similar. The

¹ Compare 2 Maccabees xv. 28-9.

fact that in comparison to "the composer" of the ill-assorted scrap in 1 Chronicles xvi. 8-36 the writer of the lines that are incorporated in Luke i. was a poet *Dei gratia* does not diminish the importance of the other fact that his work also is no more than a recapitulation of often repeated ideas and a rehearsal of well known poetic expressions. The assumption that the Magnificat and the first part of the Benedictus belong to the same period of history as the compilation of 1 Chronicles xvi. 8-36 is therefore permissible.

The appearance in the New Testament of poems which might have belonged to the repertoire of songs that were sung by the company of Mattathياهو, the rod of YHWH, or—as is more probable—by the subsequent generation of Maccabaeen warriors, should not cause surprise. It is not an isolated case.

Great and marvellous are thy works,	YHWH God Almighty,
Righteous and true are thy ways,	King of the ages,
Who shall not fear and glorify,	YHWH, thy name?
For thou art holy, and all the nations shall come	
	And worship before thee,

For thy righteous acts have openly been declared . . .

The superscription given to this fragment from a Hebrew hymn, "The Song of Moses and the Song of the Lamb", must not deceive us; such superscriptions have about the same historical value as the superscriptions of canonical psalms. Yet it is probably the bizarre title that has so far prevented recognition of the origin of the fragment in Revelation xv. 3b, 4 as a Maccabaeen hymn which might have been sung on their way to death by the martyrs of YHWH when they refused to bow in worship to Zeus Uranios.¹

From verse 76 to verse 79 the Benedictus speaks of events that lie in the future; verses 68-75 use the past tense. The only logical conclusion it is possible to draw from this difference is that these parts of the Benedictus represent two different strata and are not the work of one author. This suspicion is confirmed when the contents of the two parts are examined and set against each other: only verses 76-9 deal with the future of the child John and are specifically called for by the occasion; they

¹ Remnants of Hebrew liturgical poetry can be found in Revelation iv. 11, xi. 17-8, xii. 12a, xix. 1, 2, 5b, 6b, 7a.

express a father's elated anticipation of the achievements of his son. Verses 68-75 are made up of generalities that have no connection with John's birth. They do not specifically fit the present situation and were written on a completely different occasion which had originally nothing to do with the birth of Zacharias' son.

The Magnificat is a similar case. It has been pointed out that the contents of the Magnificat are inappropriate in the mouth of Mary and could have been spoken more suitably by Elisabeth.¹ Yet even in the mouth of Elisabeth the Magnificat

¹ It is only possible to give here a cross-section of scholarly opinions on the problem of textual criticism as to whom the Magnificat should be assigned as speaker. The question aroused considerable controversy two generations ago.

François Jacobé "L'origine du Magnificat" (*Revue d'histoire et de littérature religieuses*, vol. ii (Paris, 1897), pp. 424-32) raised the issue and brought forward reasons of critical interpretation of the contents of the story in support of the external evidence for the reading "Elisabet" (codices Vercellensis, Veronensis, Rhedigeranus-Vratislavenensis; Irenaeus, Origenes, Niceta of Remesiana, Paulinus of Nola, Cyril of Jerusalem): "Le contenu . . . du cantique n'a rien qui soit personnel à Marie", ". . . le Magnificat n'est qu'un décalque du cantique d'Anne, mère de Samuel. La situation d'Elisabeth n'a-t-elle pas plus d'analogie avec celle d'Anne que celle de Marie?" (p. 431). («François Jacobé» appears to be an early *nom-de-plume* of Loisy.)

The Jesuit father A. Durand (*Revue biblique internationale*, vol. vii (Paris, 1898), pp. 74-7) reviewed and rejected Jacobé's statement of the case, though he well understood that the error in the traditional text of Luke i. 46a could have crept in quite inadvertently from a desire for greater precision. "Le texte original devait porter simplement *ἐἰπεν*. Le désir de préciser aura fait ajouter par les uns *μαριάμ*, tandis que d'autres écrivirent *ἐλιζάβετ*" (p. 76).

Heinrich Weinel, "Ein Vorschlag" (*Zeitschrift für neutestamentliche Wissenschaft*, vol. i (Giessen, 1900), pp. 347-51): ". . . so ist auch an unserer Stelle (Lc. i, 46) das »*Ἐλισάβετ*« sachlich richtig; aber »*Μαριάμ*« ist sachlich falsch . . ." (p. 350). Not long before he wrote the article, Weinel had spoken of "die drei Psalmen der Maria, des Zacharias und des Symeon in Lc, welche deutlich ein semitisches Original verraten und vielleicht auf jüdische Vorbilder zurückgehen", *Die Wirkungen des Geistes und der Geister im nachapostolischen Zeitalter bis auf Irenäus* (Freiburg, 1899), p. 80.

Carl Gustav Adolf Harnack, in "Das Magnificat der Elisabeth (Luc i, 46-55) nebst einigen Bemerkungen zu Luc i und 2" (*Sitzungsberichte der Königlich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin*, vol. xxvii (Berlin, 1900), pp. 538-56) collected and surveyed additional reasons of the internal evidence for his preference of the reading "Elisabet" in the O.L. His arguments have to be read.

Friedrich Spitta, "Das Magnifikat, ein Psalm der Maria und nicht der Elisabeth" (*Theologische Abhandlungen. Eine Festgabe zum 17 Mai 1902 für*

is not entirely convincing. Why does she, in her joy that her shameful barrenness is ended and that she will be rewarded with a child, have to exclaim that YHWH has thrown princes from their thrones and has set up the needy in their stead? These words bear no relation to the situation in which an expectant mother finds herself, and they sound unnatural in Elisheba's, and even more so in Maryam's, mouth.

These considerations lead to the supposition that the Magnificat and the first part of the Benedictus—those passages in which the use of the aorist prevails—were not first written *Heinrich Julius Holtzmann* (Tübingen und Leipzig, 1902), pp. 61-94) disagreed with Harnack's analysis and brought forward a number of reasons why the Magnificat should be thought of as spoken by Mary, although—according to Spitta—it was not an original part of the narrative but had been added by the evangelist.

Francis Crawford Burkitt, "Who Spoke the Magnificat?" (*Journal of Theological Studies*, O.S. vii (Oxford, 1906), pp. 220-7): "St. Luke intended us to understand that the Magnificat was spoken by Elisabeth and not by Mary" (p. 222).

Alfred Firmin Loisy, *L'évangile selon Luc* (Paris, 1924): "Dans l'ensemble, le Magnificat, n'est qu'un décalque du cantique d'Anne, et c'est la situation d'Elisabeth, non celle de Marie, qui est analogue à celle de la mère de Samuel" (pp. 100-1). Compare the same author's *Les Évangiles synoptiques* (Paris, 1907), vol. i, p. 303.

Burton Scott Easton, *The Gospel According to St. Luke. A Critical and Exegetical Commentary* (New York, 1926): "Superficially . . . 'Elisabeth' seems the more natural reading. . . . The parallelism with Zacharias' song . . . would suggest that the . . . hymn was uttered by Elizabeth" (p. 14).

Maurice Goguel, *Au seuil de l'évangile Jean-Baptiste* (Paris, 1928): ". . . l'hymne connu sous le nom de Magnificat que le texte courant de Luc et la tradition attribuent à Marie mais qui paraît bien avoir originairement appartenu à Elisabeth" (p. 72). "La substitution d'Elisabeth à Marie étant très peu vraisemblable, la leçon » Elisabeth « doit être ancienne" (p. 72, n. 1).

John Martin Creed, *The Gospel according to St. Luke* (London, 1930): "In spite of the support of all Greek manuscripts and almost all versions, the conclusion should probably be drawn that *μαριάμ* [viz. in verse 46a] is not original" (p. 22).

I adhere to the opinion that the Third Evangelist intended his readers to understand that the Magnificat was spoken by the mother of John. Reasons for this opinion are submitted in a chapter treating of the relation between the "Baptist Source" and the "Nazarene adaptation" thereof among the literary records that preceded the evangelist's own presentation of the theme. With regard to the wider problem as to the authorship of Luke i. ii. in general, and of the Magnificat in particular, I do not subscribe to Harnack's and Burkitt's propositions.

when the birth of John the Baptist was celebrated in literature, but existed in independent form before then.

Harnack thought that the original language of the Lucan Nativity and Infancy Narrative was Greek; Torrey thought it was Hebrew—but both scholars believed that the lyrics were composed by the same person who wrote the narrative setting in which the lyrics are embedded. Loisy remained undecided as to the questions of author and original language of the poems; while leaving open the possibility that these songs might have been composed in Hebrew and, after translation into Greek, inserted with some retouches and stylistic alterations into the Lucan Birth Narrative by the evangelist, he admits the possibility that they might have been composed in Greek in imitation of the style of the Greek Old Testament.¹ Spitta expressed the view that the authors of the Magnificat and the Benedictus and of the story of John's birth were different persons; he believed the story to have been completed without the songs in verses 46b-55 and 68-79 and to have been amplified by a later hand which inserted the poems. "Das Magnifikat ist erst später (nachträglich) in den Geschichtszusammenhang eingefügt worden. Tatsächlich schliesst sich V. 56 tadellos an V. 45 an."² "Viel leichter wird sich alles erklären, wenn man annimmt, dass das Magnifikat . . . vom Evangelisten der von ihm benutzten Geschichte eingefügt worden ist."³ "Das Magnifikat hat ursprünglich der Geschichte in Luk 1 nicht angehört."⁴ "Das Benediktus kann der Erzählung ursprünglich nicht angehört haben, sondern ist ihr aus einem anderen Zusammenhang erst später eingefügt worden."⁵

Spitta's explanation, preferable though it is to Harnack's or Torrey's assumptions, does not entirely meet the case. It was not the evangelist who inserted the songs into their present setting. The editor of the Third Gospel did not insert anything

¹ "Il est permis de se demander si l'on est en présence d'un cantique hébreu plus ou moins librement traduit et glosé, ou bien d'une composition grecque où l'on aurait imité le style des Septante. La seconde hypothèse se pourrait n'être pas la moins vraisemblable; mais il est certain que le rédacteur évangélique s'il n'a pas composé les cantiques les a retouchés et appropriés à son style", L.c., p. 104-5.

² L.c., p. 85.

³ L.c., p. 89.

⁴ L.c., p. 90.

⁵ L.c., p. 72.

anywhere without the guidance of a tradition which he considered trustworthy and which indicated to him that the inserted matter was causally connected with the subject with which he was dealing. The editor of Luke is the most conscientious, most scrupulous, and most historically-minded of compilers. He might have changed turns of speech and amplified details in the light of his own understanding of the tradition or of facts as had been "delivered" to him, but he definitely refrained from adding to his text anything on which he possessed no tradition. There are explanatory glosses in the Third Gospel, there are notes by which the evangelist attempted to correlate the gospel story with the political events of the world, but there is not one single item substantial to the gospel that had not been transmitted to the editor. He was a poet, but he invented nothing. The Songs were in the Third Evangelist's edition of Luke, and it was not the evangelist who had added them to his source. The songs were in the "Nazarene" *Vorlage* which the evangelist had at his disposal. The point at which the songs were added to the narrative was earlier: they were inserted by the author of the Baptist Document (Story of John's Birth) into his own narrative; he knew the lyrics and incorporated them into his own composition of the story of John's signal birth. Magnificat and first part of the Benedictus are Maccabaeian Hebrew psalms which the composer of the Baptist Document knew and which he found suitable for incorporation into his own work. The author of the Baptist Document is also the author of verses 76-9. Spitta is correct in saying that the psalms were written by another person than the author of the prose narrative—but his explanation that they were later joined to that narrative by someone other than the composer of the story of John's birth seems unwarranted.

Jacobé, who treated of the subject before the controversy between Harnack and Spitta had arisen, correctly remarked of the loose dovetailing of the lyrics into the narrative: ". . . les cantiques, le Magnificat et le Benedictus, ont un peu l'air des pièces rapportées dans le récit, où ils ne sont qu'à moitié encadrés",¹ ". . . le Magnificat est un vrai psaume, inspiré

¹ L.c., p. 429.

comme le Benedictus, comme le cantique d'Anne, mère de Samuel, comme les psaumes davidiques".¹ On reading the first chapter in Luke with an open mind, it is impossible to disagree with Jacobé on this point; verses 46b-55 and verses 68-75 are not organically one with the surrounding setting, but are "des pièces rapportées".²

The relation of the poems Luke i. 46b-55 and Luke i. 68-75 to the narrative of the birth of John the Baptist is the same as that of the hymn I Samuel ii. 1-10 or other lyrical sets in the narrative books of the Old Testament to their present background. They are psalms, and like other Hebrew psalms they were written by anonymous authors; they were sung and recited until both their authors and the occasions on which they had been written sank into oblivion. The songs remained and

¹ L.c., p. 431.

² A careful conservative summary of earlier presented views on the subject is to be found in Erich Klostermann, *Handbuch zum Neuen Testament*, vol. ii, *Die Evangelien* (Göttingen, 1919), "Ein Problem für sich bildet das Magnificat . . . Abgesehen von den auch nur sehr allgemein auf Maria und ebensogut auf Elisabeth wie schliesslich überhaupt auf jede Mutter eines glorreichen Sohnes passenden Versen 48 f. (hat) der Hymnus keine . . . Beziehung auf das Erlebnis der Maria und die Ankunft des Messias . . . (Man will) in dem Magnificat einen älteren Dankpsalm erblicken, der vielleicht gerade wegen 48 f. nachträglich diesem Zusammenhang einverleibt (H. Holtzmann), oder umgekehrt durch späteren Einschub von V. 48 f. erst für den Augenblick passend gemacht und dann hier eingelegt wurde (J. Weiss). Umstritten bleibt dabei, ob der Psalm ein Produkt der judenchristlichen Gemeinde darstellt . . . (so z.B. J. Weiss) oder ob er vorchristlichen, d.h. rein jüdischen Ursprungs ist (Hillmann, Merx, Spitta . . .) und entweder auf Erweisungen Gottes in der Vergangenheit Bezug nimmt oder besser in Aoristen, die zeitlosen hebräischen Perfekten entsprechen, ausmalt, was Gott zu jeder Zeit tut" (pp. 374-5).

We may add to this survey of relevant opinions on the relation of the Songs in Luke i. to the narrative setting of the story the view expressed by Martin Dibelius in *Die urchristliche Überlieferung von Johannes dem Täufer* (Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments O.S. xv, Göttingen 1911): "... dann hätte der Psalm (i.e. Magnificat) ursprünglich gesondert existiert" (p. 74); the Benedictus is characterized by Dibelius as "kein notwendiges Glied der ganzen Erzählung", but "lose eingefügt" (p. 74). Goguel expressed the same opinion in *Au seuil de l'évangile Jean-Baptiste*: "Ce psaume (i.e. le Magnificat) . . . pourrait avoir eu originairement une existence indépendante" (p. 73) and "Quant au psaume de Zacharie qui, à cause de la manière dont il est inséré, paraît avoir eu originairement comme le Magnificat une existence indépendante et n'avoir été introduit qu'après coup . . ." (p. 74).

were saved from sharing the fate of the authors by some later collector or writer who preserved them by ascribing them to some royal or other important personage and who either included them in a book of lyrics such as canonical Psalms or inserted them in some narrative, such as the Hexateuch, Judges, Samuel or Kings. In any case, the new context of the songs had little to do with the circumstances in which they originated.¹ Such may also be the history of the Magnificat and of the longer part of the Benedictus: they may have been written and sung in Maccabaeian times by a poet who was one of a band of Jewish warriors and wished to commemorate the fact that princes had been put down and the poor exalted. These songs circulated amongst the people for a period of several generations. They may have been changed in the process of oral tradition, restyled, enlarged, adapted, set to tune for various occasions, as folk-songs are handed on and are constantly being reshaped by the people who use and who preserve them. If that happened to the hymns that are known to us from Luke, the process of changing which the hymns might have undergone was still not advanced enough to obliterate the original character of these poems. It is most likely that both the Magnificat and the first part of the Benedictus which speak of past manifestations of God's power and God's mercy toward Israel, which speak of salvation as an event known to have happened in the past—like the *יְהִי-לִי לִישׁוּעָה* in Exodus xv. 2—not as one awaiting the speaker in future, were written by some Jewish poet who wished to express gratitude for the help God had given in the struggle against the Syro-Macedonian armies. The author of the narrative of John the Baptist's birth knew these songs; he found them to his

¹ The fact that ancient poems which are now included in prose narratives of the Old Testament were drawn from older anthologies is explicitly stated in Josua x. 13 and 2 Samuel i. 18. These references must be supplemented by the LXX reading of 1 Kings viii. 53. We read there instead of the *sefer hayashar* (book of Yashar) of a *biblos tēs oûdēs* (hymn book). This obviously is the same formula. In the M.T. the letters *y* and *s* are transposed. By restoring these two letters to their original order we obtain instead of a mythical "Yashar" a concrete reference to an existing song-book, *sefer hash-shir*. It is possible that even this transposition is not required. The title of the book may have been *yashir* = "they sang", to which some later scribe added the article.

liking and thought it fitting to put them into the mouth of the mother and father of John, in the belief that they would be appropriate in their new setting.¹

Let us see whether the contents of the poems fit the assumption that they were composed as war songs in Maccabaeian times. There is nothing in the contents of the two hymns that would rule out the idea of their having been composed as Psalms of Praises incanted by a militant crowd before joining battle or as triumphal odes after victory had been achieved on the battlefield. The δούλη in verse 48a need not necessarily be a designation of an actual person of the female sex. It might be Israel, "the virgin daughter of Sion", who was meant by this expression. In 1 Maccabees ii. 11, Israel is called a "free woman who is become a slave" (ἐλευθέρα ἐγενήθη εἰς δούλην). The humiliation of the slave-woman is avenged by YHWH's showing strength with his arm in scattering the proud and putting down the foreign princes from their thrones. "He has holpen Israel his servant in remembering mercy" as he had sworn in days of old. Ἡ δούλη τοῦ κυρίου, the people of the servants of YHWH, after suffering the humiliation of Seleucid rule had now "been filled with good things"—they had spoiled the camps of Nicanor and Lysias and captured rich booty. It is Israel also who will have to be identified with the ταπεινοί and πεινῶντες of verses 52, 53 (Syr sin has "poor" for "hungry" in the latter verse). Innumerable passages in the Old Testament justify this identification.²

¹ The freedom taken by the author of the narrative of John's birth in interpreting the old psalms in his own manner keeps within modest bounds. The views on the Magnificat expressed by more recent writers display a much more felicitous variety. To illustrate this I am quoting Ernest William Barnes' *The Rise of Christianity* (London, 1947). His Grace holds the following opinion of the Magnificat: "... the most triumphant welcome in religious literature to the uprising of the common man. No other ... document shows so plainly that Christianity made headway as a movement among the proletariat" (p. 71).

² To Israel refer the designations: עָנִי, ταπεινός in Isa. xlix. 13; liv. 11; lxvi. 2; עָנִי (עָנִי) πτωχός in Isa. xxix. 19; lxi. 1; Ps. x. 2, 9; cxl. 13; Ps. Sol. xv. 2 (possibly also Ps. lxxii. 2, 13; cix. 22); עָנִי (עָנִי), πρᾶϋς in Zeph. iii. 12; Ps. cxlix. 4; דָּל, ταπεινός in Zeph. iii. 12 (possibly also דָּל, πένης in Ps. cix. 22 and דָּל, πτωχός in Ps. cxliii. 7, 8), probably עָנִי in עָנִי הַצָּאן הַשְּׁמֵרִים

It is possible to go further than merely saying that Magnificat (Luke i. 46a-55) and Benedictus (Luke i. 68-75) are Maccabaeian psalms composed as war songs in Hebrew. One may venture further and specify as closely as possible the function of these songs. It appears that Luke i. 68-75 is a paean that was sung *before battle*, and Luke i. 46b-55 a psalm of thanksgiving sung *after battle*. To determine the original character of the Benedictus as a Maccabaeian paean one has to compare it with 1 Maccabees iv. 28-34. Here we have a prose account of the respective strengths of Lysias' and Judas Maccabaeus' armies encamped before Beth Šur. The prose account is interrupted by insertion of the prayer of Judas Maccabaeus before his troops joined battle with the Syrians.

. . . and he prayed and said :

Blessed art thou, saviour of Israel,
Who didst quell the onset of the mighty man
By the hand of thy servant David,
And didst deliver the army of the strangers
Into the hand of Jonathan the son of Saul
And of his armbearer. . . .

This is obviously a translation from Hebrew. It is regrettable that only five verses of one Maccabaeian prayer of dedication before battle have been preserved.¹ Yet is it really the only prayer of this sort we know? If the five metric lines in 1 Maccabees iv. 30b-33 are compared, as to their style and contents, with Luke i. 68, 69, 71-4, the original character of the

(τὰ πρόβατα τὰ φυλασσόμενά μου), Zech. xi. 7, 11. For other instances see : Brown-Driver-Briggs, *A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament* (Oxford, 1906) under עָנִי, n. 3, and עָנִי, n. 3 (p. 776). Humility befits the people who are called by God's name : וַיִּכְנְעוּ עַמִּי אֲשֶׁר נִקְרָא שְׁמִי עֲלֵיהֶם . . . , 2 Chron. vii. 14. Poverty and wisdom are the marks of goodness : טוֹב יְלֵד חֲסִידִים, ἀγαθὸς παῖς πένης καὶ σοφός, Qoh. ix. 13.

Compare Alfred Rahlfs, *Anaw und Anawim in den Psalmen* (Göttingen, 1892) and see Midrash Naso Rabbah xi. 1 : "Anawim applies to Israel who are poor (עָנִים) among the nations and go about in humility (עֲנָוָה) in their midst and suffer the burden imposed upon them, in order to sanctify the Name of the Holy One . . . , and to whom the Holy One . . . will in the future show grace", *Midrash Rabbah Numbers*, vol. i, translated by Judah J. Slotki (London, 1939), pp. 408-9.

¹ See also 2 Maccabees xv. 22b-24a.

Benedictus can no longer be doubtful.¹ The psalm in Luke fits exactly the same situation and breathes exactly the same spirit as the prayer of Judas Maccabaeus. The conclusion is inevitable that the Benedictus proper is a Maccabaeian paean, invoking the assistance of God before battle and avowing that if God will grant his assistance and will deliver his people from the enemy, the nation will then be able to serve God wholeheartedly without fear of interference from the oppressor.

If the Benedictus was a prayer incanted before battle was joined, the general character of the Magnificat indicates that it is a song of thanksgiving after victorious battle. Such songs are mentioned in the scroll of "The Wars of the Children of Light against the Children of Darkness" and in 1 Maccabees iv. 24. The words "deliverance" and "mercy" which occur in the passage last mentioned are key-words; the Magnificat would fit the situation described in 1 Maccabees.

It has to be noted that the spirit which pervades both lyrics is the spirit of an hopeful, vigorous, young generation, proud of its achievements and its valour. It is the spirit of a people whose favourite self-designation, "the humble ones", refers to their relation to God, but no man. (It would be difficult to find in the history of any nation a period of 300 years with a succession of men of such self-consuming, self-destroying pride as that of the Palestinian hillbillies—to Antioch and Rome, they were no more—from Mattathias, the son of John, to Simon who is called Bar Kokhba.) When reading the Magnificat and the first eight verses of the Benedictus we must beware of reading into them any sentiment or thought that is not borne out by the contents of these poems themselves but that might be suggested by the general tenor of the story with which, in their present setting, the two psalms are loosely linked together. We must not allow ourselves to be influenced by other passages of quoted speech from that story if we wish to recognize the Magnificat and the Benedictus as what they are. The predominant note in the first two chapters of Luke is the note which the "Nazarene

¹ Compare 2 Maccabees viii. 15 with Luke i. 49b and 72b, further 1 Maccabees iv. 10 and 2 Maccabees viii. 19-21 with Luke i. 72.

adaptor " of the story of John's birth impressed upon the narrative—a messianist character. Yet nowhere in verses 46b-55, 68-75 is a messiah mentioned or even a messianic situation alluded to. These songs of votive avowal and of thanksgiving look back upon past events of deliverance ; there is in them no tension nor direction toward the unknowable future, but only elation over the great mercies that God has already shown. If it were not for the setting of these two psalms and for the messianic spirit that strongly pervades the setting, nobody would chance to think of these psalms as being messianic. No disillusion with " this world " has cast a gloom over the minds of the writers of these songs.

The pastoral idyll of Luke i. 5 - ii. 21, in the penultimate mould of the story which the evangelist took over with only the slightest of changes, was fashioned at a time of relative peace in Israel. The troubles which the armed conflict with Rome brought upon the country and its inhabitants had not yet arisen. Even so, the first century with its sense of imminent friction and constant tension (of which verses Luke i. 32, 33 ; ii. 25, 26 ; ii. 34-8, give eloquent testimony) was not the age in which the psalms Luke i. 46b-55 and Luke i. 68-75 came to be written. There occurs in verse 54 and verse 72 the word " remember " ; in the first case the poet uses the verb in giving thanks that *God has remembered*, in the second he expresses his firm confidence that *he will remember*. The tone and connection in which the verb זָכַר turns up in works of Hebrew poetry may serve as a safe test in determining whether the subject poetical piece originated in a period of relative well-being or in a period of disaster. The tone in which the word is used in both psalms in Luke i. clearly shows that they were written in an age of success for the Jewish nation. When things become worse, the note changes and there is an impatient, urgent, throbbing demand in Jewish prayers that God *may remember*. We know this note from the Psalms of Solomon and from some of the benedictions in the Shmoneh Esreh. When things are at their worst and the poet is filled with dark despair, he says, " God no longer remembers the earth " (2 Baruch xxv. 4). The lyrics in Luke i are older than the Psalms of Solomon.

Should the explanation of ἡ ταπείνωσις τῆς δούλης αὐτοῦ *the abasement of his bondmaid*, as referring to the subjection of Israel under the Seleucids appear far-fetched to some reader (to me it does not so appear), let us say that there is nothing against the supposition that the actual author of the hymn Luke i. 46b-55 might have been a woman, a mother of warriors who gave in these lines expression to her personal feeling of gratitude to God for the safe return of her warrior sons from the battle field. The song might have been composed by one of the nameless mothers of nameless fighters, perhaps a Miryam or perhaps an Elishebhah, or a Rachel, or Deborah, or Shulamith, or whatever the name may have been by which she was known to those who knew her—a name that is not even a memory today. All that remained of her may have been a few lines of a song which she sang in thanksgiving to her God for the return of her loved ones from war. The hearts of millions of nameless mothers and sons all over the world have been stirred by these lines, and it is perhaps an act of higher justice that her hymn has been ascribed by Christian tradition, though not by the writer of the Third Gospel, to the symbol of motherhood, to Mary, the mother of Jesus.

APPENDIX¹Dedication Prayer Before Battle
(Luke i. 68-75)

ברוך יהוה אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל
כִּי־פָקַד וְגָאֹל אֶת־עַמּוֹ
וַיָּרֶם לָנוּ קֶרֶן יְשׁוּעָה
בְּבֵית דָּוִד עַבְדּוֹ
כְּאֲשֶׁר דִּבֶּר בְּפִי־נְבִיאָיו
הַקְדּוּשִׁים אֲשֶׁר מַעֲוִלֵם

¹ The following is *not* a translation of the Benedictus and the Magnificat, but a rendering of what might have been the wording of the primary source of these hymns. I am fully aware of the fallacies that beset attempts at reconstructions of this sort, fallacies of which the present experiment is hardly free. The translation itself is not my work. I consulted and used—besides Hatch's

לְהוֹשִׁיעֵנו מֵאִיְבֵינוּ
 וּמִיַּד כָּל־שׂוֹנְאֵינוּ
 לַעֲשׂוֹת חֶסֶד עִם־אֲבוֹתֵינוּ
 וּלְזָכֹר אֶת־בְּרִית קֹדֶשׁ
 אֶת־הַשְּׂבוּעָה אֲשֶׁר נִשְׁבַּע
 לְאַבְרָהָם אָבִינוּ
 לְהַצִּילֵנוּ מִיַּד אִיְבֵינוּ
 וּלְתַתֵּנוּ לְעַבְדּוֹ בְּלֹא־פָחַד
 בְּחֶסֶד וּבְצִדְקָה לְפָנָיו
 כָּל־יְמֵי חַיֵּינוּ

Hymn of Thanksgiving After Battle
 (Luke i. 46b-55)

רוֹמְמָה נַפְשִׁי בִיהוָה
 וּתְשַׁמַּח רוּחִי בִּאלֹהֵי יִשְׁעֵי
 כִּי רָאָה רָאָה בְּעֵינֵי אַמְתּוֹ
 וְהִנֵּה מַעֲתָה כָּל־דּוֹרוֹת יֹאשְׁרוּנֵי
 הַגָּבוֹר הוּא גְדוֹלוֹת עָשָׂה־לִּי
 נִזְרָא וְקָדוֹשׁ שְׁמוֹ
 וַחֲסִדּוֹ עַל־יִרְאָיו לְדוֹר וָדוֹר
 עָשָׂה חֵיל בְּזִרְעוֹ
 הַפִּיץ זֵדִים בְּמַחֲשָׁבוֹת לִבָּם
 הוֹרִיד שְׁלִיטִים מִכְסָּאוֹתָם
 וְרוֹמָם שְׁפָלִים

and Redpath's Concordance to the Septuagint—the translations by Elias Hutter (Nürnberg, 1599), by Richard Caddick (London, 1798), by Franz Delitzsch (Berlin, 1885) and by Isaac Eliezer Salkinson (London, 1886). In doing so I found that the Hebrew of successive translators tends to become worse from generation unto generation. My attempt, being the latest in this series, will, I presume, not be exempted from this apparent law of nature.

רַעֲבִים מְלֵא טוֹב
 וְעֹשִׁירִים שֶׁלַח רִיקָם
 תָּמִיד בְּיִשְׂרָאֵל עֲבָדוּ
 לְזִכֹּר חֶסֶד
 כְּאֲשֶׁר דִּבֶּר לְאַבֹּתֵינוּ
 לְאַבְרָהָם וְיִזְרְעוּ עַד-עוֹלָם¹

¹ The Magnificat is clearly composed as a chant for alternate voices. A new tone sets in with verse 51. If we remember what Philo recorded in *De Agricultura* 79 and *De Vita Contemplativa* 83, 84 of male and female choirs complementing each other in their recitals, we may think that lines 46b-50 were incanted by the female choir to which the men answered with lines 51-55. I would, however, not unduly stress this point.

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